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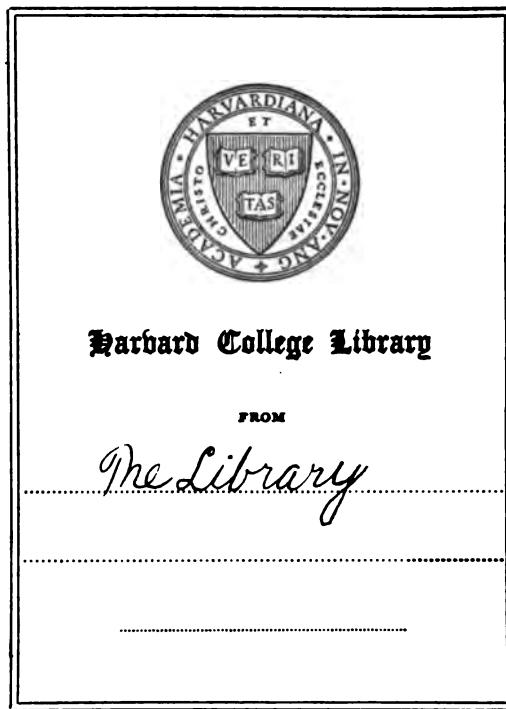
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OF

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MANCHESTER

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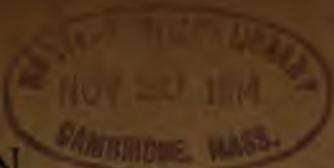
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BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY MANCHESTER

VOL. 2

OCTOBER, 1914

No. 1

WITH the present issue the publication of the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library" is resumed after a somewhat lengthened period of suspension. Appearing first in 1903 it was continued by annual issues until 1908, when by reason of the exigencies of other work it was found necessary to suspend publication until the pressure of the more urgent claims of the library had been relieved.

Such however has been the experience of the intervening years that any hope of relief which we may have entertained has been completely dispelled, yet in consequence of the repeated inquiries for the "Bulletin," which have revealed the need for some such medium of communication between the library and those who are interested in its welfare, it has been decided to resume the publication without further delay.

It will be noticed that the format has been changed, from the quarto of the original volume to the handier octavo size of the present issue, whilst changes in the arrangement of the contents have been decided upon, with the object of increasing its usefulness.

It may not be out of place to remind readers that the primary purpose of the "Bulletin" is to make clear to students in Manchester and elsewhere the possibilities of usefulness which such a library offers. This will be effected through the medium of lists of the most important additions to the shelves, of aids to readers in the form of select bibliographies, or reading lists of the character of the one prepared by Professor Peake, which appears in the present issue; of bibliographical notes upon any specially noteworthy addition, such as the "Odes of Solomon"; of occasional articles on the special collections and outstanding books and documents in which the library is so rich; and by any other means calculated to make its resources better known.

That such a publication will materially increase the general interest in the library, and not only promote the use of books that would otherwise be neglected, but directly tend to the advancement of knowledge, cannot be doubted.

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

In reviewing the work of the library during the interval which has elapsed since the publication of the last issue of the *Bulletin*, it may not be out of place in the first instance POLICY
OF THE
LIBRARY. to recall the considerations which have led to the present policy of the administration of the library.

Throughout the fourteen years of the library's existence, it has been recognized that while it is the primary duty of the authorities carefully to preserve the books and manuscripts entrusted to their care, yet the real importance of such collections rests not upon the number or the rarity of the works of which the collections are composed, but upon the use to which they are put.

It was inevitable that the possession of so great an inheritance of literary treasures should cause the library to become a place of pilgrimage for those who have given themselves to the service of learning, as well as for the lover of rare books. But from the first it has been the intention of the Governors to make it at the same time an excellent working library for students, whether in the department of theology, philosophy, history, philology, belles-lettres, the fine arts, or bibliography, and with this end in view they have consistently strengthened the collections in directions likely to be fruitful of good results, so that students and scholars of riper experience alike should be attracted, not merely by the library's treasures, but also by the facilities which it offers for study and research.

Needless to say there are still many lacunæ upon the shelves of the library, although every effort is being employed to reduce their number. This, however, is not surprising when the comparatively recent date of the foundation is recalled.

In this work of development, very material assistance has been rendered by readers, whose suggestions, which are invited and welcomed, receive careful and sympathetic consideration, with the result that during the fourteen years that have elapsed since the library

opened its doors, something like 120,000 volumes have been added to the shelves, including seven thousand manuscripts and many other works either of extreme rarity or of historical importance.

There is cause for great satisfaction in the fact that one of the outstanding features of the use made of the library during ^{USE MADE OF THE LIBRARY.} the period under review is the large and increasing amount of original research which has been conducted by students, not only from our own universities, but also by scholars from other countries.

Every encouragement is given to such workers, with the result that of late, such has been the increase in their number that the seating capacity of the library has been taxed at times to the point of congestion, and the need, if the present standard of service is to be maintained, for more adequate accommodation, has become increasingly apparent.

With a view not only of providing for this necessary extension of the present buildings, but also of creating for the buildings ^{BUILDING EXTENSION.} an island site, in order to minimize, as far as possible, the risk of fire which the close proximity of the buildings at the rear threatened, the Governors, for several years past, have been acquiring land at the rear of, and immediately adjoining, the library.

After careful consideration of the most pressing needs, the architect of the original building was asked to prepare sketch plans for an extension which was to harmonize with the existing structure, and to be in communication with it, in which provision should be made for an additional reading room, a manuscript room, a series of rooms for administrative work, common rooms for the staff, and stack rooms for book storage.

The original building, though admirable from the architectural point of view, and possessing many other excellent qualities, does not fully meet the requirements of a modern research library. Therefore, in deciding upon the character and arrangement of the new portion, reliance has been placed upon the actual experience of the past years—years which have furnished many object lessons—with the result that every part of the extension has been designed to meet some particular need.

The sketch plans having been prepared in such a way as to allow the work to be executed in two sections, the plans for the first section were elaborated, in which provision is made for the administrative

AFTERNOON LECTURES (3 p.m.).

Tuesday, 17th November, 1914. "Theban Tombs." (Illustrated with Lantern Pictures.) By Alan H. Gardiner, M.A., D.Litt., Formerly Lecturer in Egyptology in the Victoria University of Manchester.

Tuesday, 5th January, 1915. "The Origin of the Cult of Dionysos." By James Rendel Harris, M.A., Litt.D., LL.D., etc., Director of Studies at the Woodbrooke Settlement, Birmingham.

The object of these lectures is to stimulate interest in the library, and each lecture is made the occasion for reminding the audience of this fact, by directing attention to the available sources of information upon the subject dealt with. The value of the lecture is often enhanced by the distribution of a printed synopsis, or a printed list of the principal authorities upon the subject, which are to be found in the library.

Another department of work which has met with encouraging success is represented by the bibliographical and other DEMONSTRATIONS TO STUDENTS. demonstrations for students, which are arranged from time to time for organized parties of students from the training colleges, technical, secondary, and other schools in Manchester and the neighbouring towns.

As a rule, the demonstration deals with the author or subject, sometimes a period of history or of literature, which has been the theme of class study during the term. Such topics as "The Beginnings of Literature," "The Beginnings of Printing," "The Middle Ages," "The Revival of Learning," "Caxton," "Aldus," "Chaucer," "Shakespeare," "Dante," and "Milton," have each in turn been dealt with in this manner.

Experience has taught us that nothing will help a student to appreciate the reality underlying the great names of literature or history like a personal introduction to the original documentary sources, the autograph material, the original editions of their works, and to the most authoritative works bearing upon the subject. In this way a sense of personal acquaintance with the writers, or a vivid impression of the subject is obtained, which not only deepens their interest in that particular subject but stimulates an interest in the many valuable collections which the library contains, and lays the foundation for future study.

By means of exhibitions, which are arranged in a series of glass cases in the Main Library, the public are given the opportunity of inspecting some of the principal treasures of the library. In this way the "History of the English Bible," the "History of Printing," the "Manuscripts of the Middle Ages," the "Original Editions of the Earliest English Classics," and other subjects have been illustrated to the evident enjoyment of a large number of visitors, including organized parties from the elementary and secondary schools, and with the gratifying result that in a number of cases which have been brought to our knowledge, the interest of the casual visitor has ripened into a desire to become a regular reader.

It is customary to issue in connexion with each exhibition a descriptive catalogue or handbook, illustrated with facsimiles, and containing lists of works for the study of the subject dealt with, which are at the service of readers in the library. Particulars of the most recent of these catalogues will be found amongst notes dealing with publications.

In the accompanying list of donors to the library during 1913-14 we have unmistakable evidence of the constantly increasing practical interest in the library and its work. In the name of the Governors we take this opportunity of renewing the thanks already expressed in another form to the donors for their generous gifts, and of assuring them that these generous expressions of interest and goodwill are a most welcome source of encouragement.

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 Washington. Smithsonian Institution.
 Washington. Surgeon-General's Office Library.
 Washington University Library, St. Louis, Mo.
 Worcester, Mass. Clark University Library.
 Yale University Library.

Since the publication of the last issue of the "Bulletin" a number of interesting catalogues and other publications have made their appearance. The most important is the "CATALOGUE OF THE DEMOTIC PAPYRI IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY. With facsimiles and complete translations. By F. L. GRIFFITH, M.A." 3 vols. 4to. (Price 3 guineas.)

PRINTED
CATALOGUES
AND OTHER
PUBLICATIONS.

This was published in 1909, after about ten years of persistent work on the part of Mr. Griffith. It is something more than a catalogue, since it includes collotype facsimiles of the whole of the documents, with transliterations, translations, valuable introductions, very full notes, and a glossary of Demotic, representing, in the estimation of scholars, the most important contribution to the study of Demotic hitherto published.

This was followed in the same year by the "CATALOGUE OF THE COPTIC MANUSCRIPTS . . . By W. E. Crum, M.A." 1 vol. 4to. (Price 1 guinea.) In this also many of the texts are reproduced *in extenso*. The collection includes a series of private letters considerably older than any in Coptic hitherto known, in addition to many manuscripts of great theological and historical interest.

In 1911 appeared the first volume of the "CATALOGUE OF GREEK PAPYRI . . ." Volume I. Literary texts (nos. 1-61); by Arthur S. Hunt, D.Litt. 4to. (Price 1 guinea.) The texts are reproduced *in extenso*, and comprise many interesting Biblical, liturgical, and classical papyri, ranging from the third century B.C. to the sixth century A.D. Included are probably the earliest known text of the "Nicene Creed," and one of the earliest known vellum codices, containing a considerable fragment of the "Odyssey," possibly of the third century A.D.

The series of reprints, which is to be known as "THE JOHN RYLANDS FACSIMILES," has been undertaken, with the object of rendering more readily accessible to students by THE JOHN
RYLANDS
FACSIMILES. means of faithful facsimile reproductions, some of the more interesting and important of the rarer books and prints which are in the possession of the library, and also of averting the disaster and loss to scholarship involved in the destruction by fire or otherwise of such unique and rare literary treasures when they have not been multiplied by some method of reproduction.

The volumes consist of minutely accurate facsimiles of the works selected, preceded by bibliographical introductions.

Three volumes have been issued, and are briefly described in the following paragraphs, whilst two others are in an advanced state of preparation.

1. PROPOSITIO JOHANNIS RUSSELL, printed by William Caxton, circa A.D. 1476. . . . With an introduction by Henry Guppy, M.A., 1909. 8vo, pp. 36, 8. 3s. 6d. net.

* * * This "proposition" is an oration, pronounced by John Russell, Chancellor of England, on the investiture of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, with the Order of the Garter, in February, 1469, at Ghent. The tract consists of four printed leaves, without title-page,

printer's name, date, or place of printing. It is printed in the type which is known as Caxton's type "No. 2," but whether printed at Bruges or at Westminster has yet to be determined.

For many years the copy now in the John Rylands Library was considered to be unique. Indeed, until the year 1807 it lay buried and unnoticed in the heart of a volume of manuscripts, with which it had evidently been bound up by mistake. Since then, another copy has been discovered in the library at Holkam Hall, the seat of the Earl of Leicester.

2. A BOOKE IN ENGLYSH METRE, of the Great Marchaunt man called "Dives Pragmaticus" 1563. . . . With an introduction by Percy E. Newbery, M.A.; and remarks on the vocabulary and dialect, with a glossary by Henry C. Wyld, M.A., 1910. 4to, pp. xxxviii, 16. 5s. net.

. The tract here reproduced is believed to be the sole surviving copy of a quaint little primer which had the laudable object of instructing the young in the names of trades, professions, ranks, and common objects of daily life in their own tongue. The lists are rhymed, and therefore easy to commit to memory, and they are pervaded by a certain vein of humour.

3. A LITIL BOKE the whiche traytied and reherced many gode thinges necessaries for the . . . Pestilence . . . made by the . . . Bisshop of Arusiens. . . . [London], [1485 ?]. . . . With an introduction by Guthrie Vine, M.A., 1910. 4to, pp. xxxvi, 18. 5s. net.

. Of this little tract, consisting of nine leaves, written by Benedict Kanuti, or Knutsson, Bishop of Västerås, three separate editions are known, but only one copy of each, and an odd leaf are known to have survived.

There is no indication in any edition of the place of printing, date, or name of printer, but they are all printed in one of the five types employed by William de Machlinia, who printed first in partnership with John Lettou, and afterwards alone, in the city of London, at the time when William Caxton was at the most active period of his career at Westminster.

CATALOGUE OF AN EXHIBITION OF THE WORKS OF DANTE
ALIGHIERI [with list of a selection of works on the study
of Dante]. 1909. 8vo, pp. xii, 55. 6d. net.

The exhibition of which this is a descriptive catalogue was arranged, primarily, in connexion with the visit to the library of the members of the Manchester Dante Society, with the object of revealing to them the wealth of material which is here available for the study of Dante, and it may not be out of place to reproduce a few paragraphs from the preface, in which the scope and character of the collection are described.

The library contains five manuscripts and upwards of 6000 printed volumes and pamphlets relating to Dante. The nucleus of this collection, including the rarest and the most important of the early editions, formed part of the Althorp Library. These have been added to from time to time, by the purchase of other groups of copies, together with a considerable collection of the modern literature of the subject.

Of the five manuscripts the three most important are: (1) a copy of the "Canzoni" written in the latter part of the fourteenth century for Lorenzo degli Strozzi, which is ornamented with large initial letters and illuminated borders, containing portraits of Dante and of his inamorata; (2) a copy of the "Divina Commedia" written in 1416, containing a number of variants from the common text, made by B. Landi de Landis, of Prato, of whom nothing is known; (3) a sixteenth-century copy of the "Divina Commedia," with the "Credo" and other poems at the end, which at one time was in the possession of Cavaliere S. Kirkup.

The printed editions include the three earliest folios of the "Divina Commedia," printed in the same year (1472) at Foligno, Mantua, and Jesi respectively. The only serious gap in the collection is the fourth folio, undated, but which issued from the press of Francesco del Tuppo at Naples between the years 1473 and 1475. Of this edition not more than three or four copies are known to have survived, three of which are already locked up in national or public libraries. With this exception, the entire range of the early and principal critical editions of the text of Dante's great poem is represented. Of the first illustrated edition of the "Divina Commedia," which has also the distinction of being the only one printed in

Florence during the fifteenth century, one of the two copies in the possession of the library is believed to be the only copy containing twenty of the engravings, said to have been executed by Baccio Baldini.

CATALOGUE OF AN EXHIBITION OF ORIGINAL EDITIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL WORKS OF JOHN MILTON, arranged in celebration of the tercentenary of his birth. 1908. 8vo, pp. 24. 6d. net.

CATALOGUE OF AN EXHIBITION OF ORIGINAL EDITIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL ENGLISH CLASSICS [with list of works for the study of English literature]. 1910. 8vo, pp. xvi, 86. 6d. net.

CATALOGUE OF AN EXHIBITION OF MANUSCRIPT AND PRINTED COPIES OF THE SCRIPTURES, illustrating the history of the transmission of the Bible, in commemoration of the Tercentenary of the "Authorised Version" of the English Bible, A.D. 1611-1911. 1911. 8vo, pp. xiv, 128, and 12 facsimiles. 6d. net.

This exhibition, as the title to the catalogue explains, was arranged to commemorate the Tercentenary of the publication of the "Authorised Version" of the English Bible of 1611.

The exhibits were so arranged as to illustrate the transmission of the Bible through the various stages of its eventful history from the original texts and early versions down to the Revised Version of 1881-98.

A brief sketch of the history of the transmission of the Bible, filling thirty-six pages, is prefixed to the catalogue, which is followed by a list giving particulars of a selection of works for the study of the original texts and principal versions of the Bible, which may be consulted in the library.

CATALOGUE OF AN EXHIBITION OF MEDIÆVAL MANUSCRIPTS AND JEWELLED BOOK-COVERS [exhibited on the occasion of the visit of the Historical Association], including lists of palæographical works and of historical periodicals in the John Rylands Library. 1912. 8vo, pp. xiv, 134, and 10 facsimiles. 6d. net.

The visit to the library of the members of the Historical Association, on the occasion of the holding of their Fifth Annual Meeting in Manchester, was signalized by the arrangement of the exhibition of mediæval manuscripts described in the above catalogue.

Prefixed to the catalogue is a brief account of the library's manuscript possessions, followed by some notes explanatory of the character of the books of the Middle Ages, and of the distinguishing features which they possess, in the matter of writing, of illuminations, and also of the materials employed, with a view to assist those who may not be familiar with the subject, to a fuller appreciation of the interest and beauty of their workmanship. The illustrations add to the usefulness of the catalogue, by furnishing examples of the work of some of the most important schools of writing and illumination from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries.

Lest it should be inferred that the library is rich in such bibliographical and literary treasures as were exhibited and described, but wanting in the necessary appliances for study and research, it was thought advisable to include a list of the works for the study of palæography with which the library is equipped, and also a list of the periodical publications in history and the allied topics which are regularly taken for the periodical room.

**A BRIEF HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE LIBRARY AND ITS
CONTENTS, WITH CATALOGUE OF A SELECTION OF
MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED BOOKS exhibited on the
occasion of the visit of the Congregational Union of Eng-
land and Wales, in October, 1912. 8vo, pp. xii, 144,
and 21 facsimiles. *Out of print.***

The object of this volume was to signalize the visit to the library of the members of the Executive of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, on the occasion of the holding of their Annual Meeting in this city. It was peculiarly appropriate that the Congregational Union should, during the course of the Manchester meeting, pay an official visit to the John Rylands Library, which owes its existence to the munificence of a lady, who up to the time of her death, was an honoured member of the Congregational Church, as was also her husband, whose name the library fittingly perpetuates.

A CLASSIFIED CATALOGUE OF THE WORKS ON ARCHITECTURE AND THE ALLIED ARTS IN THE PRINCIPAL LIBRARIES OF MANCHESTER AND SALFORD, with alphabetical author list and subject index. Edited for the Architectural Committee of Manchester by Henry Guppy and Guthrie Vine. 1909. 8vo, pp. xxv, 310. 3s. 6d. net, or interleaved 4s. 6d. net.

This publication, the first of its kind to be issued, with the exception of a few union lists of periodicals and incunabula, was the outcome of a suggestion made early in 1904 at a meeting of the Joint Architectural Committee, which is composed of representatives of the University of Manchester, of the Manchester Education Committee, and of the Manchester Society of Architects.

It was pointed out that scattered over the principal libraries of Manchester and Salford there existed a very fine and extensive collection of works on architecture, and the allied arts, in which architects, students of architecture, and art workers generally might find almost infinite resources of suggestion and inspiration for their work. Unfortunately, there was no means of determining what each library contained, or even where a particular work could be seen and consulted, otherwise than by a personal visit to the various institutions. As a natural consequence the usefulness of the collections was seriously impaired, and much valuable material was allowed to rest upon the shelves unopened, because nobody knew it was there for want of a proper catalogue.

The value of the suggestion that a combined, or union, catalogue of this literature should be issued was at once recognized, and steps were taken to carry it out. The co-operation of the various authorities was invited, and the librarians and committees of the different libraries entered very cordially into the spirit of the proposal, and readily undertook to prepare the necessary lists.

The general work of co-ordination and of editorship was entrusted to the librarian and sub-librarian of this library, who were also responsible for the scope of the undertaking as well as for the form and arrangement of the various details. This catalogue may be said to mark an epoch in the development of library administration and co-operation, and for that reason it may not be out of place, even

though several years have elapsed since its publication, to indicate in a few words the principles which we kept before us in determining the scope and arrangement of the volume.

Among the most distinctive features of the present generation is the growing sense of the great advantages springing in every direction from corporate action, coupled with a keener perception of the disadvantages that inevitably attend the failure to utilize such opportunities of combination as may present themselves. In every department of life the value of co-operation is being increasingly recognized as an essential element in the conduct of any undertaking in which one desires to attain the maximum of economy and efficiency. Libraries which are to a large extent the creation of this age, cannot afford to lag in this matter, and to neglect to avail themselves of so valuable a means of increasing and extending their sphere of usefulness. Yet, hitherto, little has been accomplished, or attempted in this direction. Libraries have been content to act independently of one another. If a reader unable to find a book in the library where he is working has wished to know whether it could be found in a neighbouring one, too commonly, his only chance of ascertaining the fact has been by means of a personal, and, perhaps, fruitless, visit to the library in question. The loss of time thus entailed on students must, in the aggregate, be very considerable, and any method by which an economy can be effected in this particular should be accepted, and welcomed as one of the necessary phases of library development.

It was possible to construct this catalogue in two entirely different ways. One method would have been the formation of an alphabetical list of authors, with a subject index to the same. The other course open was to arrange the entries in a logical or classified order, and then to supply alphabetical lists of the authors, and of the subjects, which were treated in the several works.

The former plan, whilst eminently suitable for the catalogue of a large library embracing treatises on a variety of subjects, is less appropriate in the case of a single section of literature than the classified catalogue. The latter preserves the unity of the subject, and by so doing enables a student to follow its various ramifications with ease and certainty.

In the classified catalogue related matter is brought together—juxtaposition is intentional, not accidental. The reader turns to one

subdivision and round it he finds grouped others which are intimately connected with it. New lines of research are thus in some instances suggested, or opinions based on insufficient data modified and corrected.

The choice of a system of classification is manifestly a matter of considerable moment if the aim of this style of catalogue is to be adequately realized. The system should be one that is intrinsically good ; it should be of such simplicity as to be easily capable of comprehension by persons previously unacquainted with it ; at the same time, in the case of a union catalogue, it is desirable that the co-operating libraries should be familiar with the system. Hence the decimal system of classification originated by Dr. Melvil Dewey was selected as best fulfilling these requirements, since its extensive use throughout England and the United States affords evidence that its merits are widely recognized.

AN ANALYTICAL CATALOGUE OF THE CONTENTS OF THE
TWO EDITIONS OF "AN ENGLISH GARNER," compiled
by EDWARD ARBER (1877-97), and rearranged under the
editorship of Thomas Seccombe (1903-04). 1909. 8vo,
pp. viii, 221. 1s. net.

In every library there are a considerable number of important contributions to literature which are simply buried and neglected for want of proper cataloguing, because, by an accident of birth, they appear in a volume with other equally important works, which have been lumped together without any distinguishing title-pages, or have been disguised under some misleading title.

The component parts of the transactions of many learned societies, or of such composite volumes as those which form the subject of this catalogue, represent, in a large number of instances, results of scholarly research of much greater value to the student than the more ambitious, but less trustworthy works which are allowed to cumber the shelves and the catalogues of many of our libraries.

Every item recovered from this buried material and made accessible by means of a catalogue entry, adds to the available resources of the library and often is more valuable than the purchase of new volumes. The smaller the library the greater the need to have its resources expanded in this way.

There never has been a question as to the desirability of getting at this hidden material, but the question of ability to carry out the work with the limited resources at the disposal of many libraries has long taxed their ingenuity. Hitherto libraries have been content to work independently of each other, working, it is true, for a common object, but without concerted effort, and by as many different methods and systems as there are different authorities. The result has been a most deplorable waste of energy. Think of the economy of energy that could be effected if libraries were to enter into a friendly arrangement, under which each undertook to analyse a different set of similar collections, and to supply to the others a copy of the resulting entries!

The present catalogue of the two editions of "An English Garner" has been printed with the object of emphasizing the need for the analytical treatment of works of this character. It is also intended to demonstrate the practicability of placing the work of one library at the service of other libraries at a small cost.

The catalogue has been printed on one side of the paper only, in such a way that the entries can be cut up and laid down on cards, or otherwise treated for insertion in any cumulative alphabetical author catalogue. In the case of libraries where it cannot be so employed the volume may be found to be of service in its existing form to students of the history and literature of our own country, since it provides a key to a storehouse of pamphlets, broadsides, and occasional verses, collected in the "Garner," many of which are practically unobtainable elsewhere.

A BRIEF HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE LIBRARY AND ITS CONTENTS, illustrated with thirty-seven views and facsimiles. 1914. 8vo, pp. xvi, 73, and thirty-seven illustrations. 6d. net.

A revised edition of the handbook, the object of which is to provide visitors to the library with a brief narrative of the inception, foundation, and growth of the institution, followed by a hurried glance at some of the most conspicuous of the literary treasures which have made it famous.

Included is a brief description of the building which is regarded by experts as one of the finest specimens of modern Gothic architecture in this or in any country.

The illustrations consist of a number of views of the library, and facsimiles of some of the most noteworthy of the manuscripts and printed books, several of which are reproduced for the first time.

The second volume of the "CATALOGUE OF GREEK PAPYRI" is in an advanced state of preparation, and may be looked for FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS. towards the end of the year. The papyri dealt with consist mainly of non-literary documents of an official or legal character, some of which date back to the Ptolemaic period. The chief interest, however, will centre in the description of the collection of carbonized papyri of Thmûis. These papyri were found, says Dr. Hunt, as well as others of the same group in various European collections, without doubt in the ruined building in Thmûis (Tell Timai), partly excavated by the expedition of the Egypt Exploration Fund during the season 1892-3, whose chambers were found choked by a medley of decayed rolls, and it is interesting to learn that the documents which will be printed in this volume form the largest body yet published from this source.

The "CATALOGUE OF ENGLISH BOOKS TO 1640 IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY," which has been in course of preparation for a number of years, will be in the hands of the printer before the end of the year. It will furnish full bibliographical descriptions of the books in the main alphabetical author part of the catalogue, followed by a chronological short-title catalogue, and the necessary indexes of subjects, places, printers, etc.

Two new issues of the "JOHN RYLANDS FACSIMILES" are in active preparation. The first will consist of a portfolio of facsimile reproductions of eight early engravings in the possession of the library, including the famous prints of "St. Christopher" and "The Annunciation". The reproductions will be of the exact size of the originals, whilst the "St. Christopher" and "The Annunciation" will be in the exact colours of the originals. The descriptive text is being prepared by Mr. Campbell Dodgson, who is Keeper of the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum.

The other the "ODES AND PSALMS OF SOLOMON," which will be reproduced in facsimile of the exact size of the original Syriac manuscript, and will be accompanied by a typographical reprint or transliteration, and a revised translation, upon which Dr. Rendel Harris is at present engaged. There will be an ex-

haustive introduction dealing with the variations of the fragmentary MS. in the British Museum, the accessory patristic testimonies, and a summary of the most important criticisms that have appeared since Dr. Harris published his first edition in 1909.

The article on "The Modern Greek and his Ancestry" which appears in the present issue is an expansion, with illustrative notes, of the lecture delivered by Professor Thumb in the lecture hall of the library, on the 9th of October, 1913, to a large and appreciative audience.

A complete list of the periodical publications, including the transactions of learned societies, which are regularly subscribed for by the library will be found in the present issue. The list shows the range of the library files, and it will be noticed that, with a few exceptions, there is a complete set of each publication from the commencement of its career. There are also in the library many sets of similar publications which have ceased to appear, of which a list is in preparation for inclusion in the next issue, which will be published in March, 1915.

It has been found necessary at the last moment to withhold the list of the most important of the works added to the library during the year until the next issue, in consequence of the large amount of space occupied by the list of periodicals.

As we go to press, the news reaches us of the death of Mr. Stephen Joseph Tennant, the Honorary Treasurer of the Library, which took place on Wednesday, the 7th of October, at his residence at Poynton, Cheshire, in the seventy-second year of his age, after several months of painful illness most patiently borne. Mr. Tennant was the twin-brother of the late Mrs. Rylands, the foundress of the Library, and was closely associated with the institution from its inception. As one of the original Trustees, as a Life Governor, and as Honorary Treasurer he served it with untiring devotion and ability from the date of its inauguration until within a few months of his death.

No member of the Council of Governors was more assiduous in his attendance at the meetings, and no one watched with greater interest and pleasure the growing influence of the library and its work.

THE MODERN
GREEK AND
HIS ANCE-
TRY.

PERIODICAL
PUBLICA-
TIONS.

LIST OF
ADDITIONS.

DEATH
OF THE
HONORARY
TREASURER.

THE MODERN GREEK AND HIS ANCESTRY.

BY ALBERT THUMB, DR.PHIL., LITT.D.

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OF STRASSBURG.

I.

IN the history of the Balkan Peninsula during the nineteenth and in the present century, we are always struck anew by the great importance which the question of nationality has for the formation of political frontiers. Urged by the racial consciousness of the nations, diplomacy has not only founded the States of the Balkan Peninsula according to that principle of nationality, but also examines and approves the expansion of these States according to it. And just now the politicians of the Balkans base their titles to the territories won by the present war upon that principle. For the sentence "the Balkans for the Balkan nations" means, that the Balkan territories must be distributed according to what the ethnographical map requires. This, of course, in practice is not so simple ; about the ethnographical map of such a territory as, for instance, Macedonia, the Greeks, Servians, and Bulgarians do not agree at all, because each of these nations thinks it proved by science that the largest part of the country they struggle for is populated by their own race. And so the Macedonian question, which has occupied Europe for years, and which has now become acute, is a characteristic example of "applied anthropology and ethnography". The last example is the planned foundation of an independent Albanian State : though it may be demanded by Austria and Italy in the first place for political and economic reasons, yet it is to be justified only by the fact that the Albanians with regard to their ethnographical position are a peculiar race, plainly different from Slavs and Greeks, forming together with the Greeks the oldest population of the Peninsula. And as the Servians from their desire of expansion would like to swallow Northern Albania and uproot the

Albanians, the principle "Albania for the Albanians" must be objected to: for what is right for Greeks and Slavs is just for Albanians too.

The examples which I have quoted show how sometimes practical politics and theoretical science go together in order to decide on the "to be or not to be" of whole nations.

Greece, the one amongst the Balkan States that first freed herself from the Turkish Empire, also was obliged, soon after having liberated herself, to struggle to give scientific proof of her nationality. When the Greek people directed the attention of Europe to itself by its heroic fight for liberty, and roused the educated men of Europe into a passion of Philhellenic enthusiasm, it was thought an axiom that the brave men who tried with deadly determination to break the bonds of 400 years' slavery were the successors of those Athenians and Spartans who once had repelled the lust of conquest of Oriental barbarians on the battle-fields of Marathon and Plataeae. And although the Philhellenes quickly became sober in a certain sense, yet it was like a bomb, threatening to blow new-risen Greece into the air, when, in the year 1830, the German scholar Fallmerayer, the distinguished investigator of Medieval Greek history, quietly pronounced the sentence that in the Balkans the Greek race had been long ago annihilated.

"Not even a drop of pure and unmixed blood flows in the veins of the Christian population of Modern Greece. A storm like which but few have attacked the people of Europe has spread over the whole territory between the Ister and the inmost corner of the Peloponnesian Peninsula a new race of inhabitants which is related to the great Slavonic race. And a second revolution, perhaps not less important, the immigration of the Albanians into Greece, has finished the scenes of destruction. There is now in the middle of Continental Greece not one Greek family whose ancestors were not Scyths, Slavs or Arnauts, Almugavarians or Franks or hellenised Asiatics from Phrygia."

With these words Fallmerayer, in his "History of the Peninsula of Morea," announced his theory. The vehement excitement to which the Greeks and the Philhellenes were roused, at first hindered a cool examination of the assertion; the pros and cons were debated with equally imperfect arguments; the very putting of the question "Slavs or Greeks," and the one-sided answering of it *a priori*, did not make a disinterested solution possible.¹ For the Greeks the

answer was from the beginning clearly provoked by the importance of the question : for Fallmerayer himself had given a political point to his theory, and the danger for Greece was that the brilliant essayist should on the basis of his doctrine have emphasised the political solidity of the Turks and their right to authority ;² it was still more dangerous for the political existence of Greece that the hypothesis could be used in a panslavistic sense. Even to-day such tendencies are thought dangerous by the Greeks. It is, for instance, not so long ago (in 1900) that the translation of the Bible into the vernacular language, which was favoured by Queen Olga of Greece, a Russian princess, was taken as a symptom of panslavist agitation and therefore combated with passion by the adversaries of the popular language, although there was no relation between the two things.³

I cannot believe that panslavist or even personal motives, such as vanity or the desire of attracting people's attention to himself, impelled Fallmerayer to his assertion :⁴ for his scientific merits and his name as an author protect him against the reproach of needing such vulgar means in order to make an impression.

Fallmerayer's hypothesis, often discussed and much disputed, has evoked the question about the origins of the Modern Greek. The theory of the Slavonisation of Greece had been also broached some time before by the well-known Slavist Kopitar, but only in a few words and without close investigation.⁵ And Kopitar had already pointed to the testimony, which was always quoted anew in this discussion, and is due to a bearer of the Imperial Byzantine Crown. Constantinus Porphyrogennetus (912-959), in one of his numerous works (*De Thematibus*, 2, 53), says about the Peloponnesus : πάσα χώρα ἐσθλαβώθη καὶ γέγονε βάρβαρος, "the whole country was slavonised and barbarised".

Let us see now what are the historical facts upon which this saying is based.⁶

The Balkan Peninsula has had such a thorough shifting of its ethnographical conditions as few parts of Europe. At the time when German tribes began moving, that is, at the end of the third century after Christ, a gradual immigration of Slavonic tribes into the Balkan Peninsula began ; their invasions became more and more frequent, since the Goths chose Western Europe as the goal of their conquering expeditions and left to the Slavs an open passage into the Balkan

countries. The Slavonic tribe of the Antes swept over the Haemus in 540, and made the first invasion into Hellas in that year. Different Slavonic tribes spread over Moesia, Thrace, Thessaly, and Epirus during the sixth century ; the pass of Thermopylae and the Isthmus of Corinth did not stop them ; only at the walls of fortified towns such as Constantinople, Thebes, Athens, Corinth, Nauplion, and Patras was the rude force of the attacking hordes broken. Therefore it is an exaggeration to say that Avars and Slavs held the Peloponnesus from about the end of the sixth century for over 200 years without interruption, and that "no Greek could put his foot there" ;⁷ for the fortified places always remained in the hands of the Byzantines. In the same way it is a legend exaggerated by Fallmerayer's fancy that Athens was quite depopulated during 400 years from the sixth century to the tenth century.⁸

A real Slavonisation of some Greek territories took place only in the eighth century, and attained its highest point when a horrible plague in 746 depopulated the Greek territories. Then it was that Slavs came from Thessaly to establish themselves as farmers and shepherds on the deserted country-side, perhaps settled there by the Byzantine Government itself, and that the whole of ancient Greece swarmed with Slavs. If the interpretation of a modern Greek historian is right, that the imperial writer understood the word *χώρα* "country" to mean "open country,"⁹ the quoted words of the Emperor Constantine are justified.

"Even now"—says a Byzantine author of the tenth century¹⁰ who made a meagre epitome of old Strabo—"even now the Skytho-Slavs inhabit almost the whole of Epirus and Hellas (i.e. Middle Greece), the Peloponnesus and Macedonia"—a sentence which allows us some latitude of interpretation, because the saying is restricted by the little word "almost," where a certain ignorance and inexactitude is concealed. That the Slavonic settlements of Greece Proper have had a different character from those of Croatia, Bulgaria, and Servia, is proved by the fact that in the territory of ancient Greece Slavonic States were not founded, as in Bulgaria and Servia, and that politics and culture remained Greek throughout in the numerous cities.

Finally when more and more Slavs followed and became an ever greater danger for the parts which had remained Greek and for the Byzantine Empire itself, the Empress Irene, a born Athenian, widow

of Leo IV., who, as her son's guardian, reigned from 780, sent her favourite chieftain, Staurakios, in 783, against the Slavonic inhabitants of Thessaly, Middle Greece, and the Peloponnesus. The year 783 marks an epoch in the history of the Slavonic settlements of Greece. Byzantium was trying to master the intruders. Immediately the Slavs were driven to a new rebellion, to an attack against the city of Patras. The patron saint of the town, Saint Andreas himself, saved Patras in 805 or 807, so pious tradition tells us, and preserved the Peloponnesus from thorough Slavonisation. During the ninth century the Slavs of the Peloponnesus were entirely overthrown, with the exception of the Ezerites and Milingi, who still for a long time maintained themselves in the mountains of Laconia.

With the defeat of the Slavs, the Greek elements of Hellas were strengthened again and began to absorb the Slavonic intruders. It is well known that Byzantium gave Christianity and culture to the Slavonic world: here, in the heart of Greece, Christianisation was the means which Greeks used for absorbing the foreign elements. The Hellenisation of the Slavonic Peloponnesus as a whole must have been quickly executed; if in the thirteenth century, or even still later, some remains of Slavonic-speaking inhabitants are still mentioned by Byzantine authors,¹¹ we must not draw conclusions from the statement for the whole ethnographical configuration of the Peloponnesus; thus, for instance, the fact that some Slavs live nowadays in the purely German province of Brandenburg or that the Welsh live in Wales does not allow us to conclude that Prussia is now a Slavonic country or England a Celtic one.

II.

I have tried to describe shortly the historical facts on the basis of which Fallmerayer founded his hypothesis. Do these facts justify the German historian? At first they might seem to do so. But we have been already obliged to emphasise the fact that the Greek element always was preserved in the cities, and we had especially to cite the Peloponnesus as the place of Slavonic settlements, whereas the other countries which were Greek in antiquity were little or not at all touched by the Slavonic inundation.

In order to gain clear evidence about the ethnographical composi-

tion of the Modern Greek race, we ought before all to know the local expansion and the number of the Slavs who settled on Greek territory. But just there the proofs and documents fail, which we might expect from historical inquiry: we are not able to make an ethnographical map of the Slavonic epoch of Greece on the basis of historical or better documentary tradition, that is, we cannot precisely say in what proportion each district was inhabited by the Slavs: for the occasional historical proofs which we quoted above, or a notice in the journey of Bishop Willibald von Eichstätt (eighth century) saying that the town Monembasia (called Malvasia by the Venetians) is situated "in Sclavinia terra," i.e. in Slavonic country,¹² such testimonies are too general and too inexact sufficiently to inform us about the matter we want to know. Direct proofs of Slavonic inhabitants, especially archaeological discoveries and inscriptions, are missing; a single inscription, called Slavonic and found near Eleusis, is of doubtful value.¹³ So we must seek for other means of help. A starting-point is the present grouping of the Balkan peoples. Greeks, i.e. Greek-speaking people, live to-day in the kingdom of Greece (with the exception of the districts inhabited by Albanians—see below), namely, in the provinces of Hellas and Thessaly; Greeks inhabit exclusively the Ionian Islands and all islands of the Ægean together with Crete; they form the main population of Epirus and the coast of Macedonia and Thrace, where at some points they extend far into the inner parts, for instance as far as Serres in Macedonia and Adrianople and Philippopolis; in the same manner, on the eastern border of the Ægean, i.e. the western coast of Asia Minor, and on the southern coast of the Black Sea to the frontier of Armenia, there are a number of Greek towns and villages: the line of the coast from about Sinope to Trebizond may directly be called a continuous dominion of the Greek language. Here and in single communities in the middle of Asia Minor (near the Taurus Mountains)¹⁴ as well as on the southern border of Asia Minor the Greek language and Greek nationality have preserved and developed in quite an original manner. And finally the Isle of Cyprus is almost entirely Greek, probably more so than in the bloom of antiquity. The coast from Constantinople to Varna until a few years ago was also chiefly populated by Greeks (now they have greatly diminished here), and the towns of the northern coast of the Black Sea have important Greek colonies.¹⁵ Although to-day the

race has no longer the imposing extension which it had during the hey-day of Attic sea-power or even in the time of Hellenistic kingdoms—Greek culture stretched then from the Columns of Hercules, i.e. from the Atlantic Sea, as far as the country of the Colchians near the Caucasus, from Marseille to Mesopotamia and for a time to India,—although the Greek race of to-day is less extended, yet it reigns in the pure Greek countries of the Ancient World, i.e. round the *Ægean Sea* : there are no Slavs in these countries ; there, where the latter prevail, i.e. in Bulgaria, in the *Hinterland* of Thrace and Macedonia, the Slavs have not supplanted the Greeks, but Hellenised or Latinised Macedonians, Paeonians, Illyrians, Thracians.¹⁶

In Greece Proper, Slavs have now quite disappeared, as I said before. About their former geographical expansion we are informed better than by history by the examination of the geographical names in Greek countries. The value and use of this criterion may be illustrated by the parallel conditions of Western Europe and England. Suppose we knew nothing from history about the ethnographical condition of Germany, France, and England, we might then conclude something about the ancient inhabitants from the geographical names : names such as Moguntiacum-Mainz, Brigantium-Bregenz, Brisiacum-Breisach in Germany, or Lugudunum-Lyon, Augustodunum-Autun in France, Eboracum-York, Campodunum, Noviomagus in England would inform us by their Celtic etymology, that the Celtic race was spread over the south and west of Germany, over France and England ; names of cities such as Augsburg = Augusta Rauracorum, Cöln = Colonia, Coblenz = Confluentes in Germany would attest Roman settlements, even if historical tradition or archaeological discoveries did not exist. And between the Elbe and Weichsel River names such as Dresden, Chemnitz, Leipzig, and many others would surely testify by their etymology the former existence of Slavonic inhabitants, even if we did not know how German kings were obliged to win and to Germanise the country in a long series of battles with Slavs.

In the same manner the existence of Slavonic settlers is evidenced by geographical names in Greece : Tyrnavos (compare Trnova in Bulgaria), Ostrovo, Smokovo in Thessaly, Arachova, near Delphi, and in different parts of the Peloponnesus, Zagora, the name of the ancient Helicon, the seat of the Muses, Mount Chelmos in the north-west,

Verzova in the south-east of Arcadia, Gortsia in Laconia, Tserova and Selitsa in the territory of the Taygetus Mountains, the Kamenitsa River in Elis, Vostitsa in Achaia—these names which I take at random and which I could multiply to any extent, are of Slavonic origin and prove that in all the quoted districts Slavs were once settled. Examining these names more exactly, we observe that in some parts of the Peloponnesus they are more frequent, whereas Attica is almost entirely without Slavonic traces, and just there the conservation of names of the ancient communities or *demosi* strikes us : I quote the names of Kephisia, Mendeli (=Pentele), Marathonas, Ampelokipi, which is ancient Alopeke transformed by popular etymology. How in the course of time an old name can be entirely transformed, and how in spite of it a trace of the original denomination can be left, may be illustrated by the name of Mount Hymettus. After it had been preserved during the barbarian invasions of the middle age till the epoch of the Frankish conquerors, the mountain received from the Italians (Venetians) the name of Monte Matto, the foreigners adapting the word Hymettos to their own language, the word *matto* meaning "mad". The Italian denomination became more and more familiar to the Greeks, and forgetting the old name they translated again the name Monte Matto in their language as Trelovuno, i.e. "a mad mount"; this popular name only now is vanishing under the ancient name Hymettos (pronounced Imitós) which is due to the influence of the school.

A critical inquiry into the whole material of geographical names—a work useful and important to the historian as well as to the ethnographist and to the linguist—is still to be made; ¹⁷ the statements of Fallmerayer and of his followers, as well as of his opponents, are quite void of a strictly scientific method, and contain many strange ideas. For instance, the opinion must be definitely abandoned to-day, that the modern name Morea for the Peloponnesus is of Slavonic origin; the word is of pure Greek origin meaning "country of mulberries".¹⁸ Many strange names were thought to be Slavonic, whereas they are in reality Albanian. Only when we once have the results of such an inquiry arranged in an ethnographical map, shall we be able to get perfect information about the ethnography of the Greek territories. Then we shall see in which districts Slavs have never lived, and where Greeks preserved themselves unmixed. That the cities always

remained Greek we have seen above; with this conclusion agrees the fact that ancient names like Corinth, Nauplia, Patras, Lebadea, Thebes, Athens, Phersala (in Thessaly), and so on have resisted the storms of centuries. However, not only in the towns but also in the open country Greeks have preserved themselves: Argolis, for instance, is proved to have been free from Slavs by the great scarcity of Slavonic names; the district Kynuria (on the east side of the Parnon Mountains) has remained quite Greek in the centre, as the existence of the curious tribe of the Tsaconians shows: whose language is a descendant of the ancient Laconian dialect. Furthermore an exhaustive inquiry made by myself into the geographical names in this district has confirmed the fact that Slavonic traces are missing entirely or almost entirely in Kynuria and in the southern neighbourhood of it as far as Malvasia (Monembasia).¹⁹ For the same reason the inhabitants of the Taenaron Peninsula, about south of the line Tsimova-Gythion, the brave Maniates, men full of love of liberty, may pride themselves on a pure Greek ancestry.²⁰ Exact inquiry, therefore, does not confirm the assertion that in the Peloponnesus only one Greek geographical name is to be found against ten Slavonic ones. Thus even the condition of the Peloponnesus, which is used in the first place as a test for the Slavonisation of ancient Greek territory, does not allow us to say that the Greek inhabitants have been quite eradicated there,²¹ still less may be said about the other parts of Greece: large districts, the abode of Hellenism since the oldest times, have always preserved their Greek population. The Islands of the Ægean, the Greek countries of Asia Minor and the Island of Cyprus were never influenced by the waves of the Slavonic flood.²²

III.

A rapid survey of Greek ethnography shows that Fallmerayer's thesis from which we started proved a great failure: the premisses —i.e. extirpation of the Greek race and entire Slavonisation of the country—are false; therefore it is wrong to conclude that no drop of ancient Greek blood flows in the veins of the modern Greek. On the other hand, no one can deny that in part of the Greek territories, especially in the Peloponnesus and generally in continental Greece, a physical mixture of Greek and Slavonic blood took place.²³ If a

serious historian of merit like the Greek Konstantinos Sathas tries to dispute the fact of Slavonic immigration, and to erase it from medieval Greek history, it is nothing but a caprice or a sophism. For Sathas says that the immigrants, who were called Slavs by the Byzantines, were not Slavs but Albanians, part of a race closely related to the Greeks. Nobody has been convinced by the Greek scholar, and the fact of Slavonic geographical names cannot be explained and removed by such a theory.²⁴ But even if the theory of Sathas were correct, it would be irrelevant to the question of nationality, whether the Greeks have mixed with Slavs or with another race ; for the opinion of many Greeks is wrong, that the Albanians are more closely related to the Greeks than to the Slavs : the Albanians, whose territory reaches from about the north of Epirus to the frontiers of Montenegro and Servia, are descendants of the ancient Illyrians, and as is proved by modern inquiry, they are kindred to Greeks not more than, for instance, Italians and Slavs.²⁵

But it is true that the Albanians also belong to the elements which took part in the physical transformation of the Greek race. Christian Albanians during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries immigrated into Greece as farmers and shepherds, and settled in Boeotia and Attica, in Euboea, and in the Peloponnesus (especially in the eastern districts and in Arcadia). The German geographer, Alfred Philippson, who has given statistics of the Albanians²⁶ in the kingdom of Greece, estimates their number in the Peloponnesus at the time of their greatest extension (fifteenth century) as 200,000, about the half of the whole population at that time : to-day their number in the Peloponnesus is only 90,000 against the whole population of 730,000. Compact masses of Albanians still live to-day in Argolis and in some other provinces of the Peloponnesus. Moreover, the villages of Attica, the Isle of Salamis and parts of Boeotia, Aegina, and Andros are inhabited by Albanians. But because these Albanians from the beginning did not stand in hostile opposition to the Greeks, their Hellenisation began quickly and without difficulty : having no definite national feelings, and being connected with their countrymen by the same religion, they are now either totally Hellenised or have at least adopted Greek customs and Greek feeling : they were among the most prominent champions of the Greek war of liberty. Even those who have not yet given up their language

make use of it only in the family, but speak Greek in public life. As I observed myself with a young educated man of a Boeotian village, it would be very difficult for them to use the Albanian language for the purposes of politics and higher culture. This "diglossy" or bilingual condition prepares the way for complete Hellenisation, which is but a question of time.

IV.

Thus Slavs and Albanians are the two elements which were added to the ancient Greek blood: but large districts such as the Greek Islands and Asia Minor have remained free alike from the one and the other. All the other foreigners, who in course of time settled on Greek soil, were in such a minority that they are only of a very small importance for the question of nationality: I name, for instance, Romans and Goths before the Slavonic invasion, the so-called Franks (especially Italians) since the crusade of 1204,²⁷ the Gipsies, Jews, and Turks. Undoubtedly there was no thorough and lasting mixture with these peoples, partly because some of them had no numerical importance, and partly because others such as the Turks were always sharply separated from the Greeks by political and religious contrasts.

From the historical and ethnographical conditions of Modern Greece it results therefore that her inhabitants certainly do not form a pure race of ancient Greek origin, homogeneous from an anthropological point of view; on the other hand, they are neither a new race nor a new nationality on ancient ground; on the contrary, the native element has absorbed the foreign intruders, has stamped them with its own seal. That is to-day the general opinion of all scholars of repute, although the followers of Fallmerayer have not yet died out.²⁸ Now the question for us is to fix the national character of this anthropological crossing in order that we may know the exact relation between ancient and modern Greeks. Therefore we must examine the question whether and in what degree the foreign elements have influenced the natives with regard to their physical and psychological qualities.

The science of anthropology must first be consulted as to whether it can give us facts which will bring the question to an issue. It is true that anthropological statistics, especially craniometry, no longer

enjoy to-day the high esteem which the results of that science formerly enjoyed with regard to historical and ethnographical problems : anthropologists, resting on their statistical tables, have often disregarded the theories and the conclusions of historians. However, we may not neglect anthropology, if we can compare measurements of ancient and modern times, and if the question has reference to race mixture testified by historical tradition.

As for the ancient Greeks, it is the usual but not undisputed opinion (which is based on the measuring of skulls and of ancient statues), that on an average they were mesocephalic with the index 77, near the mark of the dolichocephalic form. In the modern Greeks this index has changed a little, to 80, the beginning of the brachycephalic measurement.²⁹ From a group of ancient Greek skulls examined by Professor Virchow,³⁰ the following proportion is calculated for the numbers of dolichocephalic, mesocephalic and brachycephalic individuals :—

dolichocephalic 28%	meso- 52%	brachy- 20%
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As to the Greeks of to-day I found the following proportion, calculated from 112 skulls³¹ :—

15%	31%	54%
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and I myself calculated from another group of 76 skulls³² :—

17%	33%	50%
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On the other hand, the southern Slavs are clearly broad-skulled : their index varies from 81·6 for the Servians to 85·1 for the Croatians, and 87 for Herzegovina,³³ and on an average there are found (according to Ranke)—

dolichoceph. 3%	meso- 25%	brachy- 72%
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Now what are the conclusions from these tables ? That the Greeks have become Slavs, that "no drop of Greek blood" is in the Modern Greek, is certainly not proved by the quoted numbers : a mixture only may be inferred from the change of the cranio-metrical numbers. An exact examination, however, does not oblige us to draw even this conclusion as a necessary one, and French and German anthropologists

directly oppose the conclusion.³⁴ For brachycephalism is not found chiefly in districts once inhabited by Slavs, but in districts free of Slavs, as for instance on the Ionian Islands and in a quite particular degree with the Greeks of Kerasus (on the northern shore of Asia Minor),³⁵ whereas on the contrary dolichocephalism has been clearly established in Thessaly, where great numbers of Slavs must once have lived. Of an especial interest are the anthropometrical facts which an English scholar recently gave about the population of Crete, an island in which Slavonic immigration is out of the question.³⁶ He has measured ancient skulls from Minoan, i.e. prehistoric tombs, also a great number (c. 2300) of modern skulls. The index of the Minoan skulls is 76, the proportion between the dolichocephalic and brachycephalic individuals being 5 : 1, the index of modern skulls is 79, the respective proportion being 5 : 4. But there are characteristic local differences : in the mountains dolichocephalism is more frequent than in the plains—with the exception of the mountain district of the Sphakiotes (south of Canea) : this curious tribe has the index 80·4, and the broad-skulled ones are more numerous than the long-skulled ones (3 : 2). As we have evidence that these Sphakiotes are a real survival of the ancient Greek population,³⁷ it is without doubt that brachycephalism has no relation to later (medieval) immigrants. And as for the Greek continent, it is more probable that mixture with broad-skulled Albanians³⁸ has produced the increasing brachycephalism among Greeks ; at least a Greek anthropologist³⁹ has observed a more frequent brachycephalism in the Albanian districts of the Kingdom. The numbers I related above can therefore not be valued for Slavonic mixture, if we consider, moreover, that brachycephalism may have its first origin in prehistoric or at least in pre-Slavic times.⁴⁰

Thus Fallmerayer's followers gain little help from anthropology. It seems almost as though the Slavs had not left any physical traces : a natural selection has perhaps taken place in such a manner, that in mixing, only those individuals were strong enough to preserve themselves in whom the native Greek element was predominant.⁴¹ If a traveller believes himself to have found Slavonic features in Thessaly,⁴² this single observation may be an auto-suggestion ; much more striking are certainly the tall and fair-coloured Albanian figures or the individuals with clearly Semitic features, whom I observed not infrequently. What we are accustomed to style the ancient Greek type

has been noticed by travellers in different regions, especially on the islands, and in Asia Minor.

There is perhaps just one anthropological fact to be quoted directly against the hypothesis of Slavonisation, but I shall not insist upon it : whereas the fertility of the Slavs, i.e. the great number of births, is notorious, Greece has in the whole of Europe one of the smallest birth-rates. Other characteristics, like a rigid conservatism in religion or the ability to learn foreign languages (of which the latter was pointed out by Fallmerayer), are too little peculiar to Greeks and Slavs to be considered as premisses for inferring mixture of blood and race.⁴³

But even if a large mixture of blood should prove to be a fact from anthropological inquiries, it would be of no avail for the question of nationality in a higher sense. For as, for instance, the belonging to the English or German people does not depend on the evidence of a long skull, and as the Englishman, in spite of his Celtic blood, or the German of Prussia, in spite of his Slavonic blood, will not allow his English or German nationality to be questioned, so must the nationality of the modern Greek be considered from the same point of view : not physical characteristics, but the totality of language, manner of thinking, ideas and customs, in short, the sum of spiritual qualities form primarily the conception of nationality. And with regard to these things we find in Greece nothing of Slavonic traces, or only such a small remainder that they can only be detected by a very minute examination. First it deserves notice that there is in Greece no evidence of great Slavonic families forming the base of a modern Greek nobility,⁴⁴ whereas numerous noble families, for instance on the Ionian Islands, have their ancestry in the Venetian nobility.

V.

The most important and the most peculiar mark of a people is their language, which is used for ethnographical grouping also by those ethnologists who dispute the value of this criterion with a smile of superiority. Thus the language of the modern Greek is a very valuable testimony for his ancestry : Modern Greek is certainly not Ancient Greek (which nobody could reasonably expect), but it is in spite of many differences a legitimate child, a natural development of Ancient Greek.⁴⁵ All attempts to detect in the Modern Greek grammar, in

phonology and accidente or in syntax foreign influences, Slavonic or Albanian or others, have failed and must fail, because what has been thought to be foreign and modern had already begun to develop a long time before the invasion of Slavs and Albanians, partly even before the Roman epoch. Modern Greek existed already in germ at the end of antiquity, for Hellenistic Greek, being the medium between Attic and Modern Greek, already shows the essential characteristics of grammar, which constitute the differences between the classic and modern language. For instance, Modern Greek pronunciation, the so-called Itacism, had almost developed in the epoch of the Roman Emperors. And not only the common vernacular language of to-day, but also the modern dialects (with the exception of Tsaconian) are daughters of Hellenistic Greek. Besides it may be observed, that the literary language used at the present in Greece is no natural result of linguistic development, but an artificial product of scholastic tradition, and as a matter of course, this literary language with its intentional archaisms has nothing to do with our ethnographical inquiry, since only the natural development of language bears on this question.

Language, however, does not only consist of sounds and grammatical forms and uses, but also of words. But to know the true character of a language the dictionary is of a smaller importance, and the loan and foreign words which are imported into a language do not influence the ethnographical character of a people, any more than does the importation of coffee, tea, and tobacco. Thus English has remained a Germanic language, although it teems with French loan-words ; none of the European civilised languages was or is able to keep free from the influence of foreign languages. Therefore it is not strange that foreign words in great number have come into Hellenistic, Medieval, and Modern Greek. First it was Rome that imported many words, especially those of public life and trade, into the Hellenistic and early Byzantine language : then the Frankish conquerors, and above all the seafaring Venetians followed with numerous naval and commercial terms ; and finally the Turks have enlarged the Greek vocabulary in many departments of everyday life down to the bill of fare and the words of abuse. What now about the Slavic words ? When brought into relation with the facts as stated they are so very trifling, that nobody would infer from their

existence the idea that Slavs and Greeks closely touched one another. An excellent authority on the Balkan languages, the late Professor Gustav Meyer of Gratz, has collected the Slavic words of Modern Greek from all sources that he could find,⁴⁶ yet his collection does not number more than 273 entries, and among this number the districts near the Slavonic frontiers, viz. Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, where the neighbourhood of the Slavs even to-day gives occasion to contact between the two nations, furnish the most Slavic words, whereas those of common or nearly common use are at best no more than seventy, a number which is very small in comparison with the great number of Romance and Turkish elements. And if we consider that a great many of the Slavic words have found their way into Greek indirectly, namely, through the Turkish language, there is no foundation at all for the fantastic opinion of a "mixed Greco-Slavonic" dialect, which exists only in the imagination of some incompetent people. The number of Slavonic loan-words formerly was hardly much greater : the Chronicle of Morea, a text of the fourteenth century, which relates the history of the Frankish conquest in quite a vulgar speech, contains a great many French and Italian terms, but almost no Slavonic word, although in the epoch of the work unhellénised Slavs still existed in the mountains of the Peloponnesus.⁴⁷ Slavs as well as Albanians, the influence of whom is similar to that of the Slavs,⁴⁸ have always received from Greeks more than they gave to them ; those peoples, therefore, who had the closest physical contact with the Greeks, had no influence on Greek nationality and culture : this is a good example for the rule that uncivilised tribes cannot retain their national peculiarity, much less impose it on a higher civilisation.

The preservation of Greek nationality is conspicuous not only in the language, but in all that is comprised in the term folklore, in the thought, superstitions, and customs of the Greek people : the national character of the ancient Greeks has not been lost even under the levelling influence of Christianity, but has developed and survives in modern Greek nationality, sometimes under the cover of ecclesiastical forms.⁴⁹

The ancient Greek gods are indeed forgotten by the people, but ancient ideas of Zeus and other gods are still found in popular ideas about God and the Saints. Zeus nods and Olympus trembles, says

Homer—God shakes his hair and the earth trembles, so think to-day the inhabitants of Zakynthos, who are often frightened by horrible earthquakes. The Saints personate the ancient gods : Saint Nikolaos is the protector of navigation, he saves from the dangers of storms—who does not recall old Poseidon ? Saint George represents the ancient god of war, the veneration of the Panagia, or the Blessed Virgin Mary, reminds us of the virginal Pallas Athene. About Saint Dionysios there is a charming legend which clearly belongs to the legends of Dionysos, the old god of wine : the very name of the saint is almost identical with the name of the ancient god. The tale is so characteristic and amusing that I relate it as a whole.⁵⁰

“ When Saint Dionysios was still young, he once made a journey through Greece, in order to go to Naxia (the isle of Naxos), but the way being very long, he got tired and sat down on a stone to rest. While he was sitting and looking down in front of himself, he saw at his feet a little plant sprouting from the earth, which seemed to him so beautiful that he resolved at once to take it with him and to plant it. He took the plant out of the ground and carried it away ; but as the sun was very hot just then, he feared that it might dry up before his arrival in Naxia. Then he found the small bone of a bird and put the small plant into it and went on. In his holy hand, however, the plant grew so quickly that it peeped forth from both sides of the bone. Then he again feared that it would dry up, and thought of a remedy. Then he found the bone of a lion which was thicker than the bird’s bone, and he put the bird’s bone together with the plant into the bone of the lion. But the plant quickly grew even out of the lion’s bone. Then he found the bone of a donkey which was still thicker, and he put the plant together with the bird’s and lion’s bones into the donkey’s bone, and so he came to Naxia. When he was planting the plant, he saw that the roots had thickly wound round the bones of the bird, the lion, and the donkey ; as he could not take it out without injuring the roots, he planted it in the ground as it was, and the plant quickly grew up and produced, to his delight, the finest grapes, from which he made the first wine, and gave it to men to drink. But what a wonder did he see now ! When men drank of it they sang in the beginning as little merry birds ; drinking more of it they became strong as lions, and drinking still more they became like donkeys.”

As the ancient Greeks believed springs, rivers and lakes, woods and trees, mountains and ravines to be filled with Nereids, Nymphs, and Dryads, so according to the belief of the present day wild nature is populated by a swarm of Nereids, this old name being used for all sorts of Elves. In the Tales of Nereids many old traits live on ; there is in them "so much undoubted antiquity, that if literary tradition did not happen to exist, yet we could still recover a nearly true picture of the ancient belief of the Nymphs".⁵¹ So, for instance, the very old myth of Peleus and the Nereid Thetis is preserved in modern fairy tales. The ancient Dryads are continued by the modern Drymjes, goddesses of the forest.⁵² Witches such as Lamias and Striglas and other demons terrify the superstitious people to-day as in antiquity. Charon, the old ferry-man in the underworld, to-day Charos or Charontas, is the god of death in modern belief ; he conducts the souls in a dreary procession to his realm. As in antiquity, a copper coin is put into the mouth of a dead person as fee for the ferry into the other world. The ancient Moirai or Fates (to-day Mires) still do their duty : they design the fate of the new-born child, spin and cut the thread of life. The bride is conducted into her new home, the dead are buried with ceremonies which the Greeks used already two thousand years ago. A sick person seeks recovery by lying down to sleep in the church of a Saint, like those patients who once made a pilgrimage to the temple of Asklepios in Epidavros. And it is remarkable that even a modern folk-song has an old ancestry : the song of the swallow which brings spring is still sung in modern Greece slightly altered.⁵³ This fact is the more curious as we have but few popular songs from antiquity.

My remarks may suffice to show how false it would be to speak of the extinction of the ancient race, as we see everywhere that ancient Greece still lives on in modern Greece. On the other hand, Slavonic traces are hardly to be detected in the sphere of folklore ; they are unimportant and rare at all events. Only a few points, such as the gloomy belief in Vampyres, seem to be influenced by Slavic ideas and features ; at least the widespread but not general name of this ghost, Vrikolakas, *vel sim.*, is Slavonic (compare Servian *vukodlak*, "Vampyre"). We are, however, not entitled to say that this belief is wholly taken from Slavs, for similar traits are not at all wanting in antiquity, as the German philologist, Bernhard

Schmidt, has emphasised in his brilliant work about modern Greek folklore.

Certainly, where the same popular ideas and similar conditions are found among different peoples, it is sometimes difficult to know where they are original, and to which people they are peculiar: we feel this difficulty in a high degree if we examine the origin of the features common to Greeks and Albanians. Here we must be guided by the general idea that the Albanians, as we said before, have at any rate received more than they have given.

And last, not least, what does the moral character of the modern Greek prove for their ancestry? I do not much value this criterion for our question. But surely the character of the modern Greek people has no resemblance, for instance, to that of the Russian people. The Russians are pessimists and brooders without activity. On the contrary, the mobile and active spirit of the modern Greeks reminds us of that famous characterisation of the Athenians which Thucydides (I, 70) puts in the mouth of a Corinthian: "The Athenians are fond of innovations, and quick in resolve and execution, bold above their strength, braving dangers even against their better knowledge, and in misfortune always full of hope. . . . If they fail in a trial, they put their hope in something else. . . . Therefore, if anybody were to say that they are by nature such as to have no rest, nor to let others rest, he would be saying the truth." In other things, too, the modern Greek has some features of the ancient Athenian, as the gift of speech, also unfavourable features, such as the tendency to superficial thinking and boasting, a quarrelsome temper in political matters, cunning in trade and commerce.⁵⁴

VI.

As modern inquiry shows, the entire and complete ethnographical transformation which Greece is said by Fallmerayer to have undergone is out of the question. The Greeks have mixed with foreign elements like all nations which have a history, but they possessed and possess such a wonderful intensive and extensive elasticity, that in spite of the most contrary fate they were able to absorb foreign culture and foreign races without having their nationality or national characteristics extinguished:⁵⁵ rather, the fading race of antiquity gathered fresh

vitality for itself by the mixture and was rejuvenated.⁶⁶ The Greeks of to-day are descendants of the ancient Hellenes, not in the sense that every modern Greek could trace his origin back to an ancient Athenian or Spartan, and so on ; but they are descendants in this sense, that in the modern people ancient blood flows largely and in some districts almost purely, and they are so still more in the higher sense that the modern race shows a natural development of ancient Greek national character—of course developed and transformed by the influence of all factors upon which depends the transformation of “ unmixed ” nations—if indeed there are unmixed nations with historical life.

On the other hand, it would be wrong to identify and to confuse Ancient and Modern Greek language, or ancient and modern nationality, as zealous exaggerating amateurs like to do : Christianity and the centralisation of the Greeks by the Roman Empire have above all transformed the ancient into the modern people, and that in quite another degree than Slavs, Albanians, and other Barbarians could do. This influence is illustrated by the very name *Romjós* (i.e. Ρωμαῖος), which the Byzantine and modern Greeks gave to themselves : the official title of the Byzantine State as a “ Roman or Romaic Empire ” has furnished the popular name *Romjós* for the nation and its people, whereas the ancient name *Hellenes* in popular mind denotes the legendary heathen ancestors, the race of Giants.⁶⁷ Of course the Greeks of to-day are more closely related to the Byzantines than these latter to the ancient Greeks. I might cite numerous examples, but I will content myself with a characteristic one given by the late Professor Krumbacher : the popular proverbs of the Byzantines are closely related to Modern Greek and Oriental proverbs, but have very little relation to the proverbs handed down from antiquity.⁶⁸ The philologists of Byzantium indeed revelled in ancient records, as they saw the sources of education in the spiritual treasures of antiquity ; but the mind of the people, from which the popular proverb has its origin, went its own way. Popular historical memory, too, does not reach beyond the radiant epoch of the Byzantine Empire : Saint Konstantinos, the first Christian Emperor, is the earliest hero of Modern Greek tradition. With the Byzantine Empire is connected the “ great idea ” of the modern Greeks, the idea of resurrection of a great empire with the capital on the

Bosporus. This idea, which is nourished now more than before by the successful issue of the late war, is not only a dream of ambitious politicians, but is rooted in popular tradition.

Thus our theme has finally led us to politics, to the Eastern Question. The problem of the origin of the modern Greeks is connected with this question ; it has a political as well as a scientific importance, as I pointed out in the beginning of my lecture. Historical and ethnographical considerations recommend such a solution of the political problem that the race which in antiquity and in the middle ages ruled the *Æ*gean Sea, the existence and the vitality of which I hope to have proved, should again be put in its historical position.

At the present day, where military and political successes have raised the credit of the Greek nation, it is easier to pronounce such an opinion than it was some years ago,⁵⁹ when the financial and political condition of modern Greece made malevolent men speak of the "so-called Greeks," who are but a "bastard nation," "a mosaic work of Vlachs, Arnauts, and Slavs". But let me avoid speaking of political problems, although I know that Philhellenism has not died out in the English nation. Scientific truth is above all national and political discussion. Yet the truth we have gained about the historical and ethnographical position of the modern Greek, gives us reason to hope that the talented nation that has been so often punished by fate, and sometimes through its own fault, will now have a brighter future.

NOTES.

¹ However it may be observed, that a criticism of Schönwälder in the "Jahrbücher für wissenschaftl. Kritik," I (Berlin, 1840), 31-47, is worth saving from oblivion, and to be read still to-day : the author rejects *sine ira et studio* Fallmerayer's theory.

² Fallmerayer, "Gesammelte Werke" (Leipzig, 1861), II, 14.

³ See A. Thumb, "Die jüngsten Unruhen in Athen und die neugriechische Bibelübersetzung," in "Grenzboten," 1902 (II), 137-144.

⁴ Compare R. von Höfler, "Erinnerungen an Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer," in "Mitteilungen des Vereins f. Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen," XXVI (1888), 395 ff.

⁵ "Wiener Jahrbücher," XVII (1822), 95 f.

⁶ I follow Gregorovius in his "Geschichte der Stadt Athen im

Mittelalter". In our own time some details only of the Slavonic immigration into the Balkan Peninsula have been treated. So Jireček, "Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie," XLVIII, 21 ff., gives an excellent and solid description of the Slavonic immigration into the northwest of the Balkans; Gelzer, "Abhandl. d. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wiss.," XVIII (1899), Nr. 5, 42 ff. gives, besides general remarks, some new material. A good orientation in quite a modern manner is found in Bury, "History of the Later Roman Empire," I (1889), 114 ff., 455 ff., and in Philippson, "Petermann's Mitteilungen," 1890, I ff. A. Cervesato, "Le colonie slave della Grecia," in "Pensiero Italiano" (Milano), 1896, Nr. 67-68, is not accessible to me.

⁷ Gregorovius, I, 85.

⁸ Gregorovius, I, 86.

⁹ Gregorovius, I, 112.

¹⁰ Gregorovius, I, 114.

¹¹ Namely, the Ezerites and Milingi, see Gregorovius, I, 117.

¹² Compare Gelzer in "Zeitschrift für wiss. Theologie," XXXV (1892), 430 ff.

¹³ Gregorovius, I, 122.

¹⁴ About the Greeks of Cappadocia compare the exact statements of Dawkins in "The Journal of Hellenic Studies," XXX (1910), 109 ff., 267 ff.

¹⁵ Isolated Greek remains still exist in Southern Italy (near Reggio and Otranto), in Corsica (in the little town Cargese north of Ajaccio), on the Sea of Azov.

¹⁶ About the geographical extension of the Modern Greeks compare A. Oppel in "Globus," LXXI (1897), 249 ff., and Philippson, "Griechenland und seine Stellung im Orient". The present grouping of races in the Balkans is recently described and illustrated with an excellent ethnographical map by J. Cvijić, "Die ethnographische Abgrenzung der Völker auf der Balkanhalbinsel," in "Petermanns Mitteilungen" (1913), 113 ff., 185 ff., 244 ff. (includes also a bibliography).

¹⁷ For some districts there are now monographs from a modern historical and etymological view, compare A. Thumb, "Die ethnographische Stellung der Zakonen," "Indogerm. Forschungen," IV (1894), 195 ff., Σπ. Λάμπρος, "Η ὄνοματολογία τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ ἡ ἐποίκισις τῶν Ἀλβανῶν," "Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Παριασσοῦ," I (1896), 186-192, Σ. Μενάρδος, "Τοπωνυμικὸν τῆς Κύπρου," "Ἀθηνᾶ," XVIII (1906), 315 ff. As I see from "Δασογραφία" I, 422, a committee has been established by the Greek Minister of Education for studying the geographical names of Greece.

¹⁸ See "Byzantin. Zeitschrift," II, 283 ff.

¹⁹ See note 17.

²⁰ I collected the geographical names of the Maina in 1894, and give above the general result of my inquiry which is based upon the following statistical table:—

Districts.	Total Number of Geographical Names.	Undoubtedly of Slavonic Origin.
Gythion-Kotrona	564	24 = 4·2 %.
Lagia	504	4 = 0·8 %.
Messa	501	18 = 3·6 %.
South of Vitylo	275	9 = 3·2 %.
Vitylo-Tsimova	319	24 = 7·5 %.
Leftro-Platsa	472	78 = 16·5 %.
Kardamula-Kampos	425	57 = 13·4 %.

²¹ That *no* district of the Peloponnesus was entirely free from Slavs, as Philippson says, seems to me an exaggeration.

²² These conclusions are not altered by the fact, that at various times Slavs have made piratical raids on the islands. The article of Šišmanov, "Slavonic Settlements on Crete and other Islands" (Bulgarian), in "Bulgarski pregled," 1897, Nr. 3, which is not accessible to me, needs a critical examination, as Krumbacher says, "Byzantin. Zeitschrift," VI, 637: the Slavonic influence cannot be at all important. Also Slavonic traces in Asia Minor (see B. A. Pančenko, "Izvěstje Russago archeol. Instituta," VIII, 15 ff.) are unimportant for our question.

²³ Compare Gelzer, l.c. 52: "Die Hellenenausrottung und die Slavisierung waren weder so gründlich und vollständig, wie Fallmerayer, noch so sporadisch und unbedeutend, wie Hopff annahm".

²⁴ What I said about Sathas concerns still more the strange theory of another Greek, who asserts without any proof, that the Slavs have not been Hellenised, but went back again to the Donau!

²⁵ In passing it may be noted, that Gobineau, "Deux études sur la Grèce moderne" (Paris, 1905), 265 f. had a similar idea about the Albanians and their mixture with the Greeks.

²⁶ See "Petermann's Mitteil.," 1890, 33 ff., "Zeitschr. d. Gesellschaft f. Erdkunde zu Berlin," XXV (1890), 402 f. For the whole kingdom Philippson estimates the number of the Albanians at 22,400 = 11·3 %. In the middle of the 19th century the number of Albanians in Greece was estimated at 172,000 = c. 14 %, see "Zeitschr. d. Gesellschaft f. Erdkunde zu Berlin," 1857, 490. Albanian colonies formerly existed also in Ios, Kythnos, Samos, Psara, Kasos, settled by the Turkish Government during the 16th century; they were unimportant and have been absorbed long ago. See Hasluck in the "Annual of the Brit. School of Athens," XV (1908), 223 ff.

²⁷ Another foreign element, small in number, the Vlachs, are also being entirely Hellenised; although speaking a Romance language closely related to Roumanian, their national feeling is quite Greek, and the Roumanian propaganda has failed, as all who know confirm—the Roumanians excepted.

²⁸ To these belongs for instance Buschan, "Die Balkanvölker in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart," Stuttgart, 1910. The pamphlet is written superficially and without sufficient knowledge of the subject.

²⁹ M. Hoernes, "Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen," I, 351,

gives 81 as index of the modern Greeks. Because we have but few measurements (not general statistics), it is difficult to state the real average. For all anthropological researches, the book of C. Stéphanos, "La Grèce au point de vue naturel, ethnologique, anthropologique, etc.," Paris, 1884 (Extrait du "Dictionnaire encyclopédique des sciences médicales"), is still to-day an indispensable source. For some new details compare the authors quoted in the following notes.

³⁰ "Alt- und neugriechische Schädel," "Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akad.," 1893, 677 ff.

³¹ See J. Ranke, "Der Mensch," II, 204.

³² "Δελτίου τῆς ιστορικῆς καὶ ἐθνολογικῆς Ἐπαιρέας," I, 366 ff.

³³ The last number is found in Hoernes, "Naturgeschichte, etc.," I, 350.

³⁴ Compare "Bull. de la Société d'Anthropologie," VII, 658 ff., Diefenbach, "Völkerkunde Osteuropas," I, 142 ff.; otherwise Zaborowski in "La grande Encyclopédie," XIX (1893), 282 ff.

³⁵ See Néophytes in "L'Anthropologie," II (1891), 25 ff.

³⁶ Ch. H. Hawes, "Cretan Anthropology," "Am. Journ. of Archaeol.," XV (1911), 65-67, and "Some Dorian Descendants," "Ann. Brit. School of Athens," XVI (1909-1910), 258-280. Some other Minoan skulls have been measured by W. B. Dawkins, "Skulls from Cave Burials at Zarko (Crete)," "The Annual of the Brit. School of Athens," VII (1900-1901), 105 ff.

³⁷ Compare also Hawes, "Some Dorian Descendants," in note 36.

³⁸ The index of Albanians near Skutari is 89 according to Hoernes, l.c. I, 350. Other numbers (between 84 and 90) are communicated by Hawes, "Some Dorian Descendants," 266, 276. The Roumanians, too, are brachycephalic according to the tables of Pittard, "Ethnologie de la Péninsule des Balkans," "Le Globe," LXIII (1904), p. 50.

³⁹ See C. Stéphanos, l.c. 432 ff.

⁴⁰ My remarks show how superficial is the assertion of Buschan (see note 28), that Greek brachycephalism comes from Slav descent.

⁴¹ Compare the opinions of the Danish scholar Vodskov, summarised by Franke in "Indog. Forsch." (Anzeiger), III (1893), 111 ff.

⁴² See Barth in "Berliner Zeitschrift f. allgemeine Erdkunde," XVI (1864), 194 f.

⁴³ Above I have not spoken about the colour of the hair, because we have no means of obtaining a percentual comparison of ancient and modern times. According to Hoernes, l.c. I, 354, in Greece there are 96 % of a dark complexion. This number needs criticism as much as the statement of a French author (Castonnet des Fosses, "La Crète et l'Hellénisme," Paris, 1897, 58), that most inhabitants of Crete are of a fair complexion. C. Stéphanos, l.c. 458, gives a more accurate table, and remarks that fair colour is found in some villages of Laconia (near the Eurotas) and of the mountains of Mantinea and on Mount Dirphys (Euboea). I myself

have made some observations during my travels through Maina and Sphakia. In these districts of the Taygetus and of Crete fair colour is more frequent than I observed elsewhere. The following table is compiled by counting pupils of elementary schools, namely, 206 boys + 3 girls of the schools of Vitylo, Platsa, Kampus (Maina) and 79 boys + 14 girls of the schools of Sphakia town and Anopolis (Sphakia) :—

	Dark.	Brown.	Fair.
Maina	42.1 %.	40.2 %.	17.7 %.
Sphakia	32.3 %.	55.9 %.	11.8 %.

My numbers for the Sphakiotes differ throughout from those of Hawes, "Some Dorian Descendants," 269.

In Maina fairness can be explained by mixture with Albanians (see A. Thumb, "Die Maniaten," in "Deutsche Rundschau," 1898, 124). But in the district of the Sphakiotes fair complexion must be of ancient Greek or even prehistoric origin: perhaps the Sphakiotes are anthropologically a survival of the Dorians who came to Crete about 1000 B.C. At any rate fair complexion cannot serve to support Fallmerayer's theory.

⁴⁴ Gregorovius, I, 150.

⁴⁵ A short orientation is found in my essay "Die neugriechische Sprache," Freiburg, 1892.

⁴⁶ "Neugriechische Studien," II ("Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad.," CXXX, 1894). Of course the list of G. Meyer could be supplemented in some points.

⁴⁷ Gregorovius, I, 153 f.

⁴⁸ See G. Meyer "Neugriech. Studien," II (1895).

⁴⁹ About the relation between the ancient and modern folklore compare besides the well-known book of Bernhard Schmidt ("Das Volksleben der Neugriechen"), the more recent works of N. Г. Πολίτης, "Μελέται περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς γλώσσης τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ, Παραδόσεις," 2 vols., Athens, 1904; Lawson, "Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion," Cambridge, 1910; Mary Hamilton, "Greek Saints and their Festivals," London, 1910 (with the criticisms of Delehaye in "Analecta Bollandiana," XXIX, 460 ff.; and Gruppe in "Berliner philol. Wochenschrift," 1911, 683 ff.); Hesseling, "Oud- en Nieuwgrieks Volksgeloof," in the "Gids," 1906, Nr. 7, and B. Schmidt, "Neugriechische Volkskunde," in "Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klass. Altertum," XXVII (1911), 643 ff. (the two last essays are occasioned by the quoted work of Politis). Hesseling as well as B. Schmidt emphasises the survival of Antiquity; the latter, explaining the principles of research, combats K. Dieterich ("Aus neugriech. Sagen," in "Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde," 1905, 380 ff., and "Neugriech. Sagenklänge vom alten Griechenland," "Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klass. Altertum," XVII, 80 ff.), who denies that modern Greek tradition may reach beyond the Hellenistic times. Modern Greek folklore is now excellently summarised in the periodical edited by Politis, "Λαογραφία. Δελτίον τῆς ἑλληνικῆς λαογραφικῆς ἑταρείας"

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(since 1909, 4 vols.). The book of R. Rodd, "The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece," London, 1892, is not accessible to me.

⁵⁰ See Hahn, "Griech. und albanes. Märchen" (Leipzig, 1864), II, 76, *Πολύτης "Παραδόσεις,"* Nr. 175, Hamilton, l.c. 15 ff.

⁵¹ B. Schmidt, "Neue Jahrbücher," l.c. 651.

⁵² See B. Schmidt, l.c. 654 ff., Lawson, 151 ff., Hamilton, l.c. 187 ff.

⁵³ Compare most recently Hamilton, l.c. 155 f.

⁵⁴ In my lecture I dealt only with the Greeks as an ethnographical unit, although I indicated sometimes local differences. There is in the first place a remarkable (anthropological and linguistic) difference between the Greeks of Asia Minor and those of the other countries; it comes from antiquity (as for instance Gobineau, l.c., 268, has already emphasised). Especially the dialects of Pontus and Cappadocia are developed in quite an original manner, and their moral character, too, is different from that of the European and Insular Greeks. Moreover, some Greek tribes have a peculiar character, as the Agraphiotes of Mount Pindos, who are but little known, the Tsaconians in ancient Kynuria, with their strange Dorian dialect, the Maniates in the Taygetus Peninsula, whom I studied in a journey in 1894 (see "Deutsche Rundschau," 1898, 110 ff.), and the Sphakiotes in the "White Mountains," south of Canea; after having made a journey there in 1912, I shall treat of this interesting tribe in the "Deutsche Rundschau," 1914.

⁵⁵ It deserves notice, that an excellent Servian scholar, J. Cvijic (l.c. 246, see note 16), has recently acknowledged this absorbing force of Hellenism.

⁵⁶ See also Gobineau, l.c., and Gelzer, l.c.

⁵⁷ About the name *Ρωμαῖος, Romjós*, compare for instance Krumbacher, "Das Problem der neugriechischen Schriftsprache" (München, 1903), 191 ff.

⁵⁸ See Krumbacher, "Mittelgriechische Sprichwörter" (München, 1893), Introduction.

⁵⁹ See my papers "Die heutigen Griechen," in the "Deutsche Rundschau," 1897, 226 and "Pro Graecia," *ib.*, 1913, 473 ff.

THE ODES OF SOLOMON.

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AS the acquisition by the Rylands Library of an almost complete manuscript of the Odes of Solomon is one of the most important events in the recent history of the institution, it may be worth while to give a brief statement, by which the readers of the Bulletin may form an idea of the value of the document which has been annexed.

The book in question is a small volume, not many centuries old, damaged by time and perhaps by exposure to water, with two or three pages missing at the beginning and the end, and not a single headline to indicate the contents of the book. It is written in the Syriac language, and it had been lying with a heap of other stray leaves of manuscripts on the shelves of my library, without awakening any suspicion that it contained a lost hymn-book of the Early Church, of the Apostolic times, or, at the very latest, of the sub-Apostolic times, that is to say, a document contemporary, or almost so, with the New Testament itself. The statement is so surprising, and the recovery of such a book so altogether unlikely and unexpected, that it has taken a good deal of time for Christian students to make themselves familiar with their enrichment, and there is still a certain amount of incredulity and suspicion with regard to the new visitor, just as there was, for example, when the Teaching of the Apostles was published, with its unexpected illumination of some of the most difficult transitions in the organisation and belief of the early Christian churches. There can, however, be no doubt that the volume in question is the very book which is known in catalogues of early ecclesiastical literature as the Odes of Solomon, for it can be identified by actual quotations made from it by writers of the third century

and the early part of the fourth century, after which time it appears to have gone out of use, except that there are a few later traces of it in the Syrian Church. And what a lovely book it is ! utterly radiant with faith, hope and love ! shot through and through with what the New Testament calls the Joy of the Lord.

It was a wise thought on the part of the authorities of the John Rylands Library to signalise the acquisition of the book by the production of a standard edition, in which the text should be facsimiled, transcribed, translated, and commented on, with due reference to the multitude of editions and commentaries which have already appeared, not only in Germany, but in almost all leading European countries, and in the United States. The prospect of producing such an edition for the John Rylands Library is very grateful to me, and I shall do my best to discharge worthily the task which has been committed to me. Not that I have any idea (in fact I never had) of saying the last word about the book : the more I read it, the more I become sensible of the part which a whole generation of scholars will have to play in its elucidation, and of the time that will be required to settle the problems that it provokes. In order to refresh the memories and stimulate the appetites of the Rylands students, we have attached to this notice a facsimile page, and have given the sense of it, not necessarily in a final form, but as nearly as may answer the purpose of any one who approaches the subject for the first time. If we can better it in the standard edition, we shall certainly do so.

ODE 38.

* * * * *

and the sufferings which are thought to be the terror of death : and I saw the corrupter in his corruption, and the bride who is corrupted and the bridegroom who corrupts and is corrupted, " both of them " adorned. And I asked the Truth, Who are these ? and he said to me, They are the deceiver and the deception ; and they are like to a lover and his bride ; and they lead astray and corrupt the whole world : and they invite many to the banquet, and give them to drink of the wine of their intoxication, and they vomit up their wisdom and knowledge, and so they make them without intelligence : and then they leave them ; and then these go about madly corrupting : being without heart, and not wishing to have it.

But as for me, I was made wise so as not to fall into the hands of the Deceiver ; and I congratulated myself because the Truth was accompanying me, and I was established and saved and redeemed, and my foundations were laid on the hand of the Lord, because He had established me. For He set the root and watered it and fixed it and blessed it : and its fruits will be for ever. It struck deep and sprung up and spread out, and was full and enlarged ; and the Lord alone was glorified in His planting and in His husbandry ; by His care and by the blessing of His lips, by the beautiful planting of His right hand ; and by the glory of His planting, and by the thought of His mind.

Hallelujah.

ODE 39.

Great rivers are the power of the Lord : so that they carry away headlong those who despise Him. * * * * *

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES FOR STUDENTS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

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[*The following notes were hastily put together to accompany lectures on "How to Study the Old and New Testaments," but may serve the purpose of guiding the Student to the most useful literature available at the present time. It need scarcely be added that in a brief survey of this kind many excellent works have been omitted.*]

I. OLD TESTAMENT.

EDITIONS of the Old Testament in Hebrew (and Greek : Kittel, "Biblia Hebraica" (the most serviceable on account of critical apparatus); other texts by Baer-Delitzsch and Ginsburg. "The Sacred Books of the Old Testament in Hebrew," edited by Paul Haupt and still incomplete, is an emended text, often with liberal use of conjecture, and printed in colours to distinguish documentary sources. Swete, "The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint" (the best text for ordinary use; the larger Cambridge Septuagint edited by Brooke and McLean is in progress). Other editions by Tischendorf, and Lagarde (incomplete).

GRAMMARS, LEXICONS, CONCORDANCES : Gesenius-Kautzsch, "Hebrew Grammar" (standard work). Briefer works on "Hebrew Grammar" and "Hebrew Syntax" by A. B. Davidson (new edition of the former by McFadyen in preparation); Driver, "Hebrew Tenses" (important; an introductory work by Kennett). Hebrew Grammar in German by Stade (accidence) and König (exhaustive). Thackeray, "Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek" (in progress); (a German Grammar of the LXX by Helbing is also in progress). Conybeare and Stock's "Selections from the Septuagint" has some pages on the Grammar. Brown, Driver, and Briggs, "Hebrew Lexicon" (the standard work, indispensable; an abridged edition

is greatly needed as there is no satisfactory smaller lexicon ; a very cheap pocket lexicon by Feyerabend may be mentioned). Gesenius, "Thesaurus" (in Latin) is still a valuable storehouse. The standard Hebrew Lexicon in German is Gesenius-Buhl ; other noteworthy lexicons are by Siegfried-Stade and König. A modern lexicon to the Septuagint is still a desideratum. The most recent and comprehensive Hebrew Concordance is by Mandelkern ; but "The Englishman's Hebrew Concordance" will be found very useful. Of Concordances to the Bible in English, Young's "Analytical Concordance" and Strong's "Exhaustive Concordance" are the best. For the Septuagint, Hatch and Redpath's Concordance stands alone.

DICTIONARIES OF THE BIBLE : Hastings' "Dictionary of the Bible" (in five volumes, the most generally useful dictionary ; the One Volume Dictionary by the same editor is the best work of its size) ; "Encyclopædia Biblica" (of the highest quality, often containing the best available discussion, but seriously marred by Lower Criticism of the Old Testament and Higher Criticism of the New of an extreme and speculative character) ; Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible" (the first volume has been published in a revised edition, much of it good, but unequal and without any consistency of standpoint, last two volumes largely antiquated long ago) ; Murray's "Illustrated Bible Dictionary" (conservative work in one volume). "The Standard Bible Dictionary" (fairly good but unequal work in one volume). Very important articles in "The Encyclopædia Britannica". "The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia" (based on Herzog-Hauck's "Real Encyclopædie") has many useful articles of a rather conservative tendency, but its strength lies elsewhere.

CANON AND TEXT : Ryle, "The Canon of the Old Testament" (good) ; Buhl, "Canon and Text of the Old Testament" ; Wildeboer, "The Origin of the Canon of the Old Testament" (an excellent complement to Ryle) ; Geden, "Introduction to the Hebrew Bible" (more comprehensive and popular) ; Driver, "Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel" (specially valuable introduction on palæography and textual criticism) ; Weir, "The Text of the Old Testament" ; Swete, "Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek". Important articles on text and versions in the chief Bible Dictionaries.

INTRODUCTIONS TO THE OLD TESTAMENT :

Driver, "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament" (our standard work, learned, thorough, firmly critical but never extravagant ; the sixth edition was thoroughly revised, the eighth more slightly, ninth just published with two important addenda) ; other Introductions by Cornill (an eminent German scholar) ; Bennett (in "A Biblical Introduction" by Bennett and Adeney, our best Introduction to the Bible in one volume) ; McFadyen (excellent popular work) ; Gray (compact and good, our most recent work). Briefer works by Wright, Box, Whitehouse.

Kautzsch, "An Outline of the History of the Literature of the Old Testament" (good sketch of the subject following the historical development) ; Robertson Smith, "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church" (at once popular and scientific, an excellent introduction to the subject ; second edition much enlarged and improved) ; Orr, "The Problem of the Old Testament" (probably the best answer to the "critical" theory). Cheyne, "Founders of Old Testament Criticism" (a most interesting sketch of several leading figures in the development of the subject).

INTRODUCTIONS TO THE HEXATEUCH : Kuenen, "The Hexateuch" (the first part of the author's great "Introduction" ; authoritative work by a leading exponent of the Grafian Theory) ; Wellhausen, "Prolegomena to the History of Israel" (epoch-making ; secured the triumph of the Grafian criticism over the type represented by Ewald and Dillmann) ; the author's "Die Compositions des Hexateuchs" was a very important contribution to the analysis ; Bacon, "The Genesis of Genesis" and "The Triple Tradition of the Exodus" (the latter important pioneering work) ; Addis, "The Documents of the Hexateuch" (prints them separately) ; Carpenter and Battersby, "The Hexateuch arranged in its Constituent Documents" (the best and fullest discussion) ; Carpenter and Harford, "The Composition of the Hexateuch" (enlarged and revised edition of the first volume of preceding) ; Chapman, "Introduction to the Pentateuch" (much briefer ; excellent). The leading German work is by Holzinger, more recent discussions by Gressmann and Smend.

INTRODUCTIONS TO OTHER PARTS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT : Findlay, "The Books of the Prophets" (good especially for theology) ; Cheyne, "Introduction to the Book of Isaiah" (very rich collection of material) ; Kennett, "The Composition of the

Book of Isaiah" (radical) ; Cheyne, "Job and Solomon," "The Origin of the Psalter" (both valuable for handling of ideas as well as criticism which is advanced) ; W. T. Davison, "The Praises of Israel," "The Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament" (good popular works, better for theology than criticism) ; Gordon, "The Poets of the Old Testament" (good and recent).

HISTORY OF ISRAEL : Ewald, "History of the People of Israel" (our biggest work, very learned and stimulating, but largely antiquated) ; Stade, "Geschichte des Volkes Israel" (a large history, though much smaller than Ewald, written from now dominant critical standpoint) ; Wellhausen, "History of Israel and Judah" (reprint of article "Israel" in "Encyclopaedia Britannica," a classic, but considerably expanded in his "Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte") ; H. P. Smith, "Old Testament History" (very good, if sometimes unduly extreme) ; Kittel, "History of the Hebrews" (valuable for criticism as well as history, mediating in standpoint, second edition of the German much enlarged and improved) ; Kent, "History of the Hebrew People" ; Kent and Riggs, "History of the Jewish People" (both good) ; Guthe, "Geschichte des Volkes Israel" (new edition announced). Briefer works (all good) by Cornill, Wade, Ottley, Foakes-Jackson, Bennett. G. A. Smith, "Historical Geography of the Holy Land," "Jerusalem" (both valuable and inspiring).

THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL AND OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY : The best treatment accessible in English is Kautzsch's article, "The Religion of Israel," in the Extra Volume of Hastings' "Dictionary". The fullest book on Old Testament Theology is by Schultz, it is now rather old. Davidson, "The Theology of the Old Testament" (posthumous and badly edited, incomplete, a series of studies, often rather antiquated but naturally containing much that is valuable) ; Wheeler Robinson, "The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament" (a compact manual admirable in every way, and on a level with the present position of the subject) ; Stade and Bertholet, "Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments" (recent and important) ; briefer works by Bennett and Burney. The treatment in the works on Old Testament Theology is largely topical, the works on the Religion of Israel trace the development of the Religion as a whole. Among these may be mentioned Kuenen, "The Religion of Israel" (the first

presentation of the history from the Graian standpoint, the author's Hibbert Lectures make up to some extent for his failure to publish a later edition); Montefiore, "Hibbert Lectures" (good, and specially interesting for its protest against the depreciation of legalism); Duff, "Old Testament Theology" (written with enthusiasm, incomplete, his "Theology and Ethics of the Hebrews" presents in brief form his conclusions on the subject in general); Addis, "Hebrew Religion" (excellent, a second volume completing the subject would be very welcome); Budde, "The Religion of Israel to the Exile" (a very instructive sketch); Cheyne, "The Religion of Israel after the Exile" (very interesting, but too drastic in both Lower and Higher Criticism); Marti, "The Religion of the Old Testament" (clear-cut sketch of the four stages: The Nomad Religion, The Peasant Religion, The Religion of the Prophets, The Legal Religion); Ottley, "The Religion of Israel"; Peake, "The Religion of Israel"; Loisy, "The Religion of Israel" (rather marred by unsympathetic and mocking tone). The chief German works in addition to those already named are by Smend, König, and Marti (the last not to be confused with the one mentioned above).

There is no work in English (apart from that by Keil) on the religious institutions, Gray's "Biblical Archaeology" not being yet published. The Dictionaries of the Bible largely supply the want. The standard German works are Nowack, "Hebräische Archäologie," and Benzinger, "Hebräische Archäologie" (the second edition thoroughly revised in a Pan-Babylonian sense). Since the Religion of Israel rose out of Semitic Religion the works on the latter subject are important for the student: Robertson Smith, "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia"; "The Religion of the Semites" (epoch-making); Wellhausen, "Reste Arabischen Heidentums" (important); Curtiss, "Primitive Semitic Religion To-day"; Lagrange, "Etudes sur les Religions Sémitiques"; Barton, "A Sketch of Semitic Origins".

OTHER WORKS: Gunkel, "Schöpfung und Chaos" (very important); Gressmann, "Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie" (may prove to be very important); Charles, "A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life" (second edition much improved); Peake, "Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament"; Baentsch, "Altorientalisches und israelitisches Monotheismus";

Robertson Smith, "The Prophets of Israel"; Bennett, "The Post-Exilic Prophets".

COMMENTARIES : The standard series is "The International Critical Commentary". Other series are "The Cambridge Bible," "The Westminster Commentaries," "The Century Bible," "The Expositor's Bible," "The Sacred Books of the Old Testament" (the Polychrome Bible, only six volumes issued). The most important series in German are "Exegetisches Handbuch"; Nowack's "Hand Kommentar zum Alten Testament"; Marti's "Handcommentar zum Alten Testament". There are numerous other commentaries and editions, which there is no space to mention. Kent's "The Student's Old Testament" is a very serviceable translation from a critically emended text, with some notes, especially on textual criticism, and introductions.

2. NEW TESTAMENT.

EDITIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN GREEK : A critical text should be employed, not the "Textus Receptus," which is the text that lies behind the Authorised Version. That by Westcott and Hort represents the dominant critical theory most consistently carried out. The Revisers' text is largely dominated by Westcott and Hort's textual theory, but is somewhat less remote from the "Textus Receptus". The best edition is by Souter; it contains a brief textual apparatus. The "Resultant Greek Testament" by Weymouth is a text formed on the basis of several modern critical editions. A more recent work is by Nestle; the text is a resultant one. A convenient edition is issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society, with an apparatus indicating variations from the "Textus Receptus" and the Revisers' text. For students the edition issued by the Würtemberg Bible Society is more useful on account of its superior apparatus. Of larger editions that by Tischendorf (the 8th larger edition) has for long been the fullest and most useful. Recently Von Soden has issued a very important text with extensive apparatus and prolegomena, expounding a new theory, which will form the subject of investigation and discussion for a long time to come. A manual edition of the text has also been published. Other editions by Tre-gelles, Baljon, and B. Weiss.

GRAMMARS, LEXICONS, CONCORDANCES : The standard grammar till recently has been that of Winer, translated and edited with many improvements and additions by W. F. Moulton. While still valuable it is to some extent antiquated and is in course of being superseded by the work of J. H. Moulton, of which so far the *Prolegomena* only has appeared. The latest German edition of Winer, by Schmiedel, is still incomplete. Blass has published an important grammar on a smaller scale ; since the author's death a new and revised edition of the original has been published. The second English edition is from an earlier edition of the German. There are several elementary grammars, that by J. H. Moulton may be mentioned, and Nunn's "Syntax of New Testament Greek". The standard Lexicon is Thayer's translation of Grimm. It is now hardly on the level of present knowledge, and will no doubt be superseded in course of time. Deissmann's "Bible Studies" opened a new epoch by showing that the Greek of the New Testament is the common colloquial language of the time. Preuschen's Lexicon (Greek-German) is disappointing. Cremer's "Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch" is accessible in English from an early edition of the original. The best Concordance to the Greek Testament is that by Moulton and Geden, the earlier work by Bruder was based on the "Textus Receptus," but takes account of the critical texts. Those who know no Greek will find "The Englishman's Greek Concordance" of service. Young's "Analytical Concordance" and Strong's "Exhaustive Concordance" are the best for students of the English Bible.

DICTIONARIES OF THE BIBLE : For these see "Bibliographical Notes for Students of the Old Testament".

CANON AND TEXT : Gregory's "Canon and Text of the New Testament" is the most comprehensive work embracing both subjects, but disappointing and too popular for a standard work ; Souter's "The Text and Canon of the New Testament" is much briefer, and in parts too learned for the ordinary reader. Westcott's "The Canon of the New Testament" is solid and learned, but needs supplementing ; for this purpose the section on the Canon in Jülicher's "Introduction" may be recommended. The most comprehensive work is Zahn's "Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons". A brief sketch of his conclusions is given in his "Grundriss". With these should be mentioned his "Forschungen," in several volumes

written mainly by himself but including contributions by other scholars. A briefer history than Zahn's is Leipoldt's "Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons". For Textual Criticism, apart from the books by Gregory and Souter already mentioned, there is Scrivener's "A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament". The most serviceable work for the student is Kenyon's "Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament" (2nd edition), which may, however be supplemented by Lake's "The Text of the New Testament". There are several short manuals, those by Hammond, Warfield, and Vincent may be mentioned. It would be advisable for the student to work through one of these manuals (Kenyon's by preference) before taking up the Introduction to Westcott and Hort's "New Testament in Greek," which is a classic. Nestle's "Introduction to the Criticism of the Greek New Testament" is a very learned work written from a somewhat different standpoint than that of Westcott and Hort (English translation from 2nd edition. The 3rd thoroughly revised German edition was published in 1909). There are important articles in the Dictionaries; Burkitt's "Text and Versions" in the "Encyclopaedia Biblica" and Turner's "Text of the New Testament" in "Murray's Illustrated Bible Dictionary" may be specially mentioned, and the articles by the latter in "The Journal of Theological Studies," vols. x. and xi.

TRANSLATIONS INTO MODERN ENGLISH : Moffatt's "The New Testament: A New Translation" may be specially recommended. His "Historical New Testament" arranges the books in what he regards as the order of composition, gives a translation of them (not identical with that in the preceding work), and much critical discussion. Other good translations are, "The Twentieth Century New Testament" and Weymouth's "The New Testament in Modern English". Revisions of the Authorised Version may be found in "The Corrected English New Testament" and "The 1911 Tercentenary Commemoration Bible". A new Roman Catholic translation, based on the original, not on the Vulgate, has begun to appear under the title "The Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures". Weizsäcker's translation into German and Lasserre's spirited rendering of the Gospels into French ("Les Saintes Évangiles") may also be mentioned.

NEW TESTAMENT INTRODUCTION : For much fuller lists than can be given here the writer may refer to the Bibliography appended to his "Critical Introduction to the New Testament". Very elaborate lists may be found in Moffatt's "Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament," which is our standard work on the subject. Among translations from German the works of B. Weiss, Zahn, and Jülicher are the most important. The leading work on the "advanced" side is by Holtzmann (untranslated and now old). Salmon's Introduction is somewhat antiquated, but not out of date. It is learned, lucid, lively, and one-sided, the work of a clever advocate. Of smaller works those by Adeney, Bacon, and Allen and Grensted call for mention. In addition to books which cover the whole of the New Testament there are many on special parts of the subject. Here only a selection of the more recent can be given. On the Gospels : Stanton's "The Gospels as Historical Documents" promises to be when completed our best and most comprehensive discussion. Burkitt's "The Gospel History and Its Transmission" is very fresh and suggestive. There are smaller works by Pullan, J. A. Robinson, and Holdsworth. In German Baur's "Die Evangelien" deserves to be mentioned, and not for its historical importance alone ; and Weizsäcker's "Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte," though just half a century old, is by no means antiquated. E. A. Abbott's series entitled "Diatessarica" now numbers several volumes. For the criticism of the Synoptic Gospels in addition to the works by Stanton, Burkitt, Abbott, and Robinson already mentioned, "Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem," Hawkins' "Horae Synopticae," Buckley's "Introduction to the Synoptic Problem," and Burkitt's "The Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus" may be named ; and in German Wernle's "Die synoptische Frage," Wellhausen's "Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien," and an important series of elaborate discussions by B. Weiss ("Das Marcusevangelium und seine synoptischen Parallelen," "Das Matthäusevangelium und seine Lucasparallelen," "Die Quellen des Lukas-Evangeliums," "Die Quellen des synoptischen Überlieferung"). The first four of Harnack's "Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament" are concerned mainly with the Lucan writing, but the second, "Sprüche und Reden Jesu" (Eng. tr. "The Sayings of Jesus") is a very noteworthy discussion of the non-Marcan source of Matthew and Luke, commonly known as Q.

Special aspects of the problem are examined in various works such as "Das älteste Evangelium," by J. Weiss. Books on the Life (e.g. Keim or B. Weiss) or Teaching (e.g. Wendt) of Jesus often contain critical discussions of the Gospels. The work of comparing the Gospels is much facilitated by a synopsis giving the parallel sections in parallel columns. Rushbrooke's "Synopticon" surpasses all in its typographical devices ; Huck's "Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien" is the handiest for ordinary use ; both of these are in Greek ; there are others by Tischendorf, Wright, and Campbell. For English students "The Synoptic Gospels," by J. M. Thompson, may be recommended.

On the Fourth Gospel the literature tends to fall into two divisions, those books which affirm and those which deny the apostolic authorship. Of the earlier books Sanday's "Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel" and Lightfoot's "Biblical Essays" may be specially mentioned, also Ezra Abbot's paper on "The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel : External Evidence". A comprehensive account of the debate in modern times is given in Watkins' "Modern Criticism and the Fourth Gospel" ; a much briefer work dealing with the recent discussions is Jackson's "The Fourth Gospel". But the most important survey is contained in Sanday's "The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel". The most notable contributions on a large scale published recently in English are Drummond's "The Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel" (conservative) and Bacon's "The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate" (advanced). A briefer work by Schmiedel "The Johannine Writings" (radical). There are large volumes by Overbeck (posthumous) and Clemen in German. The most striking change in the situation recently has been the growing tendency to regard the Gospel as constructed out of earlier sources. Wendt has for long denied its unity ; his views may be seen in "The Gospel According to St. John : An Inquiry into Its Genesis and Historical Value". More recent theories are specially connected with the names of Wellhausen, Schwartz, and Spitta. On the other side, B. Weiss "Das Johannesevangelium als einheitliches Werk".

On the Acts of the Apostles it may suffice to mention Ramsay's "St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen," "Pauline and Other Studies," and "Luke the Physician" ; Chase "The Histori-

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cal Credibility of the Acts of the Apostles"; Harnack, "Luke the Physician," "The Acts of the Apostles," "The Date of the Acts and of the Synoptic Gospels"; Norden's "Agnostos Theos" with Harnack's reply, "Ist die Rede des Paulus in Athen ein ursprünglicher Bestandteil der Apostelgeschichte"?

On the Pauline Epistles: Godet, "Introduction to the New Testament: the Pauline Epistles," Knowling, "The Witness of the Epistles" and "The Testimony of St. Paul to Christ"; Shaw, "The Pauline Epistles," may be mentioned among the larger books, Findlay, "The Epistles of Paul the Apostle" among the smaller. R. Scott's "The Pauline Epistles" is much too viewy to be a safe guide. The most striking contribution of late is Lake's "The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul," and that not simply for the critical problems. It will presumably be followed by a volume dealing with the later epistles. There is, of course, a large literature on individual epistles or groups of epistles, but it must be passed over here, and similarly the special literature on the other epistles.

On the Revelation of John: Vischer, "Die Offenbarung Johannis"; Spitta, "Die Offenbarung des Johannes untersucht"; J. Weiss, "Die Offenbarung des Johannes"; Wellhausen, "Analyse der Offenbarung Johannis"—all advocate the composite authorship of the work. Gunkel's "Schöpfung und Chaos" introduced a new era in the interpretation of the book. See further Porter, "The Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers"; Ramsay, "The Letters to the Seven Churches"; Charles, "Studies in the Apocalypse".

It must, of course, be remembered that some of the most important critical discussions are to be found in commentaries, in articles both in dictionaries and periodicals, in volumes of essays, and other comprehensive works. But it would demand a great deal of space to deal even superficially with a literature so vast.

HISTORY: For the contemporary history of the New Testament the foremost authority is Schürer's "The Jewish People in the Time of Christ". Another large work is Haurath's "History of the New Testament Times". Of smaller works Muirhead's "The Times of Christ" may be commended.

For the Life of Christ there are well-known popular works by Farrar, Geikie, and D. Smith. Edersheim's "The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah" is valuable for its illustration of the

Gospels from Jewish sources. Fairbairn's "Studies in the Life of Christ" is fresh and stimulating, with important apologetic discussions. Three students' books may be recommended, Sanday's "Outlines of the Life of Christ," "Kent's The Life and Teaching of Jesus," and Rhee's "The Life of Jesus of Nazareth". Of the larger German works (translated into English) may be mentioned Keim's "Jesus of Nazara" (best of the rationalistic Lives, but rests on incorrect solution of Synoptic Problem); Weiss's "Life of Christ" (on a sounder critical basis than Keim, learned and thorough rather than brilliant); Oscar Holtzmann "The Life of Jesus" (too commonplace). Bousset's "Jesus" is a sympathetic and admirably written sketch from advanced standpoint.

For the history of the Apostolic Age the following may be mentioned: Weizsäcker, "The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church," a brilliant work by a master, radical in criticism and much too negative in its treatment of Acts, but remarkable for its power of combination; McGiffert, "History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age," able, sounder than Weizsäcker but less brilliant; Bartlet, "The Apostolic Age," conservative, but independent and original; Ropes, "The Apostolic Age" (good). A brief sketch by Von Dobschütz, "The Apostolic Age," may be added. Other works covering a larger field but including the Apostolic Age are Pfleiderer's "Primitive Christianity," learned and illuminating though often extreme; Wernle's "The Beginnings of Christianity," too slashing but written with glow and enthusiasm; J. Weiss, "Das Urchristentum," fresh, thorough, and suggestive; H. Achelis, "Das Christentum in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten". All of these works deal of course with Paul. Among the earlier Lives of Paul those by Conybeare and Howson, Lewin and Farrar may be mentioned; of more recent works Ramsay's "St. Paul the Traveller"; Bacon's "Story of St. Paul"; Clemen's "Paulus"; Weinel's "St. Paul".

COMMENTARIES: It is impracticable to give any detailed information on so large a field. A pretty full list is given in the writer's "Critical Introduction to the New Testament". Speaking generally British commentaries are better for the Old Testament than for the New, though there are of course several excellent examples of the latter. The chief series are "The International Critical Commentary"; "The Expositor's Greek Testament"; "The Cambridge Greek Testa-

ment"; "The Cambridge Bible"; "The Century Bible"; "The Westminster Commentaries"; "The Westminster New Testament". Older commentaries are "The Speaker's," "The Pulpit," and Alford. The chief German work of this class which has been translated is that by H. A. W. Meyer. Of commentaries in German the most recent edition of Meyer should perhaps be accorded the first place, though other series, such as "Hand-commentar zum N.T." (advanced) and Zahn's "Kommentar zum N.T." (conservative), stand worthily by its side. The later editions of Meyer are entirely new works by fresh writers. A popular work, "Die Schriften des N.T." is edited by J. Weiss, and a commentary with special attention to philology and contemporary thought, "Handbuch zum N.T.", by Lietzmann. Apart from these series there are of course numerous commentaries of which the following may be enumerated: Plummer's Matthew, Swete's Mark and The Apocalypse; Menzies' "The Earliest Gospel" and 2 Corinthians; Bacon, "The Beginnings of Gospel Story"; Montefiore, "The Synoptic Gospels"; Loisy, "Les Évangiles Synoptiques" and "Le Quatrième Évangile"; Wellhausen, on Mark, Matthew and Luke; Westcott, John, Hebrews, and Johannine Epistles; Lightfoot, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, "Notes on Epistles of St. Paul"; J. A. Robinson, Ephesians; G. Milligan, Thessalonians; Hort, James, 1 Peter, Rev. i-iii.

THEOLOGY: The following works deal with the whole field of New Testament Theology: Reuss, "History of Christian Theology in the Apostolic Age" (English translation edited and annotated, often polemically, by Dale); B. Weiss, "Biblical Theology of the New Testament" (very complete and careful collection of materials, less happy in construction, and prosaic in quality); Beyschlag, "New Testament Theology" (perhaps the best accessible in English, but eccentric in its exposition of New Testament Christology); Stevens, "Theology of the New Testament" (solid, competent, and trustworthy rather than brilliant); Sheldon, "New Testament Theology" (a useful compendium); Adeney, "Theology of the New Testament" (an excellent small manual). Wernle's "The Beginnings of Christianity" largely covers the ground. There are several important untranslated works, of which Holtzmann's "Neutestamentliche Theologie" holds the foremost place; there are other treatises by Feine, Schlatter, and Weinel.

On the teaching of Jesus there are several works. The Synoptic and Johannine presentations are commonly kept distinct, and the distribution of the teaching in the Fourth Gospel between Jesus and the evangelist varies according to the view taken of the critical and historical problems. Wendt, "The Teaching of Jesus," deals with both the Synoptic and the Johannine accounts. He regards them as harmonious, and the latter as in large measure a faithful representation. On the Synoptic Teaching Bruce published several very sympathetic books: "The Kingdom of God," "The Training of the Twelve," "The Parabolic Teaching of Christ," and "The Galilean Gospel". Denney's "Jesus and the Gospel" is designed to show that the Church is justified in its valuation of Jesus by His own teaching as recorded in the two main Synoptic sources. Other works are: Von Schrenck, "Jesus and His Teaching"; Grist, "The Historic Christ in the Faith of To-day"; Garvie, "Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus". Moffatt's "The Theology of the Gospels" is not strictly an exposition of the teaching of Jesus, but naturally contains much on that subject. Recently a considerable literature has grown up around the question of the eschatological teaching of Jesus. The development of the subject may be studied in Schweitzer's "Von Reimarus zu Wrede" (translated under the title "The Quest of the Historical Jesus"), a brilliantly written, but avowedly one-sided book, designed to show that we are driven either to a thorough-going eschatological interpretation or to a scepticism like that in Wrede's "Das Messiasgeheimniß in den Evangelien"; Sanday's "The Life of Christ in Recent Research" should be consulted on this and other problems indicated by the title. Of the literature from 1892 onwards the following may be selected: J. Weiss, "Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes" (regarded by Schweitzer as epoch-making, but only in its first edition; the second, which appeared ten years later in a much larger form, modifying the extreme one-sidedness which aroused Schweitzer's enthusiasm); Schweitzer, "Das Messianitäts- und Leidensgeheimniß" and "The Quest of the Historical Jesus"; Holtzmann's "Das Messianische Bewusstsein Jesu"; Loisy, "L'Évangile et l'Église"; Tyrrell, "Christianity at the Cross-Roads"; Muirhead, "The Eschatology of Jesus"; Von Dobschütz, "The Eschatology of the Gospels" (to be commended); E. F. Scott, "The Kingdom and the Messiah" (a balanced statement of

the eschatological view); Emmett, "The Eschatological Question in the Gospels" (useful statement and criticism); Dewick, "Primitive Christian Eschatology"; Worsley, "The Apocalypse of Jesus"; Jackson, "The Eschatology of Jesus". Shailer Mathews, "The Messianic Hope in the New Testament," and Sharman, "The Teaching of Jesus About the Future" are concerned with the theme in a more detached way.

The Histories of the Apostolic Age usually contain some account of the theology of the New Testament writers. There are also numerous works on different types of theology. On the Pauline theology the following may be selected from an extensive literature: Pfeiderer, "Paulinism" (stimulating and incisive; Eng. trans. from first edition, the author's views altered, and not for the better, in the second edition and in later works, including his "Primitive Christianity"); Stevens, "The Pauline Theology" (largely from standpoint of B. Weiss); Bruce, "St. Paul's Conception of Christianity" (more satisfactory than Stevens, but tends to regard as apologetic buttresses of the system some things that belong to its foundations); Wrede, "Paul" (stimulating and provocative, his view that Paul radically transformed the religion of Jesus led to considerable discussion in Germany); Weinel, "St. Paul"; Garvie, "Studies of Paul and his Gospel"; Somerville, "St. Paul's Conception of Christ"; H. A. A. Kennedy, "St. Paul's Conception of the Last Things". Schweitzer has in his "Paul and his Recent Interpreters" sought to show that the attempts to interpret Paul as other than an out-and-out eschatologist have broken down. Great stress has recently been laid on Paul's relation to Greek mystery religions, notably by Reitzenstein, "Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen"; see also P. Gardner, "The Religious Experience of St. Paul"; Lake, "The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul," and Montefiore, "Judaism and St. Paul". A very full and careful examination is given by H. A. A. Kennedy in "St. Paul and the Mystery Religions".

On the Johannine Theology: Stevens, "The Johannine Theology"; E. F. Scott, "The Fourth Gospel". On the Epistle to the Hebrews: Bruce, "The Epistle to the Hebrews"; G. Milligan, "The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews".

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Thoresby Society. Publications . . . *Leeds*, 1891, etc. 8vo. R 5095

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Vatikanische Quellen zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung. 1316-1378. *See Görres Gesellschaft zur Pflege der Wissenschaft im Katholischen Deutschland.*

Verein für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen. *Mittheilungen*. . . . *Prag*, 1862, etc. 8vo. R 6528

Verein für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde in Hohenzollern. *Mittheilungen*. . . . I. [etc.] *Jahrgang*, 1867/68 [etc.]. *Sigmaringen* [1868], etc. 8vo. R 6798

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Verein von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande. *Jahrbücher*. . . . [Continued as:] *Bonner Jahrbücher*. *Bonn*, 1842, etc. 8vo. R 11733

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Vierteljahrsschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte. *Stuttgart*, 1903, etc. 8vo. R 36434

Vorderasiatische Gesellschaft. *Der alte Orient; gemeinverständliche Darstellungen*, herausgegeben von der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft. . . . *Leipzig*, 1900, etc. 8vo. R 9450

— *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*. *Leipzig*, 1907, etc. 8vo. R 14124

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William Salt Archaeological Society. *Collections for a history of Staffordshire*. . . . *London*, 1913, etc. 8vo. R 35178

Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. The Wiltshire archaeological and natural history magazine. . . . *Devizes*, 1854, etc. 8vo. R 12411

Yorkshire archaeological and topographical journal. Published under the direction of the council of the Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association. . . . *London*, 1870, etc. 8vo. R 3446

— Record series . . . [Huddersfield, etc.] 1885, etc. 8vo. R 20328

Yorkshire Parish Register Society. Publications. . . . [Leeds, etc., printed], 1899, etc. 8vo. R 6703

Worcestershire Historical Society. [Publications.] *Oxford*, 1895, etc. 4to. R 15460

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Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. The journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. *London*, 1872, etc. 8vo. R 8459

— Man: a monthly record of anthropological science. Published under the direction of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. . . . *London*, 1901, etc. 8vo. R 8459

Anthropological review. [Continued as:] The journal of the Anthropological Society of London. [Continued as:] Journal of Anthropology. *London*, 1863[–71]. 8 vols. 8vo. R 8459

* After 1870 the "Anthropological Society" was amalgamated with the "Ethnological Society" under the title of "The Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland".

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— Memoirs read before the Anthropological Society of London [1863–69]. *London* [1865–70]. 3 vols. 8vo. R 8459

Anthropos. *See* Revue internationale d'ethnologie et de linguistique.

Ethnological Society of London. Journal. . . . (Transactions. . . .) *Edinburgh*, and *London* [1848–]70. 13 vols. 8vo. R 8459

* No more published. *See supra* Anthropological Institute.

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Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde. *See* Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft.

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American Philological Association. *Transactions*, 1869-70 [etc.]. *Boston*,
1871, etc. 8vo. R 3514

Anglia. *Zeitschrift für englische Philologie*. . . . *Halle a. S.*, 1878, etc.
8vo. R 2737

— Mitteilungen aus dem gesammten Gebiete der englischen Sprache und
Litteratur. . . . *Beiblatt zur "Anglia"*. . . . [Continued as:] *Bei-*
blatt zur Anglia. . . . *Halle a. S.*, 1891, etc. 8vo. R 2737

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Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen (und Litteraturen). . . .
Elberfeld u. Iserlohn, and *Braunschweig*, 1846, etc. 8vo. R 2466

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8vo. R 9634

Archiv für slavische Philologie. . . . Herausgegeben von V. Jagić. *Berlin*,
1876, etc. 8vo. R 2839

Babyloniaca. *Études de philologie assyro-babylonienne*. . . . Tome 5 [etc.].
Paris, 1912, etc. 8vo. R 32340

Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. *Leipzig*,
1890, etc. 8vo. R 10082

Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur. . . . *Halle*
a. S., 1874, etc. 8vo. R 2604

Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen. Herausgegeben von
. . . Adalbert Bezzenberger (und . . . W. Prellwitz, Bd. 19, etc.).
Göttingen, 1877, etc. 8vo. R 2613

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Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik. . . . *Bonn*, 1898, etc. 8vo. R 10855

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[etc.]. *London*, 1881, etc. 8vo. R 11975

Englische Studien. . . . *Heilbronn*, 1877, etc. 8vo. R 2617

Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik . . . *Giessen*, 1902, etc. 8vo.
R 19476

Eranos. *Acta philologica Suecana*. *Upsaliae, Lipsiae* [1896], etc.
R 8706

Ériu. *The journal of the School of Irish Learning*, Dublin. . . . *See* *School*
of Irish Learning, Dublin.

Glotta. *Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache* . . . *Göttingen*, 1909, etc. 8vo. R 36122

Hebraica. A monthly (quarterly) journal in the interests of Hebrew (Semitic) study. . . . [Continued as:] *The American journal of Semitic languages and literatures* . . . *Chicago, New Haven*, etc. 1884, etc. 8vo. R 5595

Hermes. *Zeitschrift für classische Philologie* . . . *Berlin*, 1866, etc. 8vo. R 2614

Indogermanische Forschungen. *Zeitschrift für indogermanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde*. Herausgegeben von Karl Brugmann und Wilhelm Streitberg. *Strassburg*, 1892, etc. 8vo. R 8240

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Mnemosyne. *Tijdschrift voor classieke litteratuur*. . . . [Continued as:] *Mnemosyne. Bibliotheca philologica Batava* . . . *Leyden*, 1852, etc. 8vo. R 2731

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Modern language notes . . . *Baltimore*, 1886, etc. 4to. R 33053

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Romania. Recueil trimestriel consacré à l'étude des langues et des littératures romanes. . . . Paris, 1872, etc. 8vo. R 2621

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School of Irish Learning, Dublin. Ériu. The journal of the School of Irish Learning, Dublin. . . . Dublin, 1904, etc. 8vo. R 12356

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Société Internationale de Dialectologie Romane. Bibliothèque de dialectologie romane. . . . Hamburg, 1912, etc. 8vo. R 32999

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Zeitschrift für Assyriologie. See Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung, etc.

Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie. . . . Halle a. S. [1896], 1897, etc. 8vo. R 8224

Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie. Halle, 1869, etc. 8vo. R 2609

Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum. . . . Leipzig, 1841, etc. 8vo. R 2483

— Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum und deutsche Litteratur. . . . Berlin, 1876, etc. 8vo. R 2484

Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur. Oppeln, Leipzig, Berlin, 1879, etc. 8vo. R 9743

Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung und verwandte Gebiete. [Continued as :]
 Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete. *Leipzig*, 1884,
 etc. 8vo. R 9297

— Semitistische Studien : Ergänzungshefte zur Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
 . . . [Continued as :] Zeitschrift für Assyriologie. . . . Beiheft xvii,
 etc. 8vo. R 9297

Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie. Herausgegeben von . . . Gustav
 Gröber. . . . *Halle*, 1877, etc. 8vo. R 2736

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6. PHILOSOPHICAL

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 1907, etc. 8vo. R 15645

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 R 20288

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 . . . *London* [1881-]1891, etc. 8vo. R 7946

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 etc. 8vo. R 12426

International journal of ethics : devoted to the advancement of ethical know-
 ledge and practice. . . . October, 1890 [etc.]. *Philadelphia*, 1891,
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Light ; a journal devoted to the highest interests of humanity, both here and
 hereafter. . . . [Continued as :] Light ; a journal of psychical, occult,
 and mystical research. . . . *London* [1881], etc. Fol. R 13163

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 review. . . . *London* [1887], etc. 8vo. R 13173

Mind : a quarterly review of psychology and philosophy. . . . *London*, 1876,
 etc. 8vo. R 6311

Philosophical review. . . . Volume 22 [etc.]. *New York*, 1913, etc.
 8vo. R 33507

Revue de métaphysique et de morale. . . . *Paris* [1911], etc. 8vo.
 R 28562

Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger. . . . Tome 63 [etc.].
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Society for Psychical Research. Proceedings. . . . 1882-83 [etc.]. *London*,
 1883, etc. 8vo. R 12970

Theosophical review. See Lucifer.

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Theosophist. A monthly journal devoted to Oriental philosophy, art, literature and occultism. . . . *Bombay*, and *Madras* [1879], etc. Fol. and 8vo. R 13172

7. SOCIOLOGICAL

Annales des sciences politiques. See *Ecole Libre des Science Politiques*.

Année sociologique . . . 1896-97 [etc.]. . . . *Paris*, 1898, etc. 8vo. R 12838

British Economic Association, afterwards *Royal Economic Society*. The economic journal. . . . *London*, 1891, etc. 8vo. R 8702

Demonstration schools record. See *Manchester: Fielden Demonstration School*.

École Libre des Sciences Politiques. *Annales* . . . [Continued as:] *Annales des sciences politiques*. . . . [Continued as:] *Revue des sciences politiques*. . . . *Paris*, 1886, etc. 8vo. R 5505

Economic journal: the journal of the *British Economic Association* (of the *Royal Economic Society*). See *British Economic Association*, etc.

Educational review. . . . Vol. 35 [etc.]. *Rathway*, N.J., and *New York*, 1908. 8vo. R 15279

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Manchester: Fielden Demonstration School. The demonstration schools record: being contributions to the study of education by the Department of Education in the University of Manchester. . . . *Manchester*, 1908, etc. 8vo. R 15246

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Analecta Bollandiana. Ediderunt Carolus de Smedt, Gulielmus van Hooff et Josephus de Backer . . . [and others]. *Paris*, *Bruxelles*, 1882, etc. 8vo. R 3457

Analecta Franciscana sive chronica aliquae varia documenta ad historiam Fratrum minorum spectantia. *Ad Claras Aquas* (Quaracchi), 1885, etc. 4to. R 7756

Analecta Gallicana. Revue d'histoire de l'église de France. . . . Paris, 1910, etc. 8vo. R 21607

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— Transactions . . . 1908-1909 [etc.]. *London* [1908, etc.]. 8vo. R 21237

Biblical world. . . . New series. Vol. 30 [etc.]. *Chicago*, 1907, etc. 8vo. R 14246

Bibliotheca sacra. . . . *London*, *Andover* [Mass.], etc., 1844, etc. 8vo. R 505

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Christian Science journal. . . . Official organ of the First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts. . . . Volume 29 [etc.]. *Boston*, Mass. [1911, etc.]. 8vo. R 28696

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Church Congress. Report of the proceedings. . . . 1861 [etc.]. [Afterwards styled:] The official report of the Church Congress . . . *Cambridge*, [afterwards] *London*, 1862, etc. 8vo. R 1840

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Congregational Transactions . . . *London* [1901], etc. 8vo. R 13511

Constructive quarterly: journal of the faith, work, and thoughts of Christendom. *London*, 1913, etc. 8vo. R 33833

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Dublin review. . . . *London*, 1836, etc. 8vo. R 11770

East and the West. A quarterly review for the study of missions. . . . *Westminster*, 1903, etc. 8vo. R 11868

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— The York journal of Convocation. . . . [1859, etc.] *York*, 1861, etc. 8vo. R 8822

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Expository times. Edited by . . . J. Hastings. . . . *Edinburgh* [1889], etc. 4to. R 5315

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Kirkehistoriske Samlinger. Udgivne af Selskabet for Danmarks Kirkehistorie. *Kjøbenhavn*, 1849-52, etc. 8vo. R 3510

Ligugé: Abbey. *Archives de la France monastique. Revue Mabillon Ligugé, Belgique*; *Paris*, 1905, etc. 8vo. R 11772

London quarterly review. . . . Vol. 95. (New Series. Vol. 5), [etc.]. *London*, 1901, etc. 8vo. R 8216

Louvain: Université Catholique de Louvain. *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*. . . . *Louvain*, [1900], etc. 8vo. R 9170

Messager des fidèles: petite revue bénédictine paraissant à l'abbaye de Maredsous . . . [Continued as:] *Revue bénédictine. Messager des fidèles. VII^{me}. [etc.], année. Abbaye de Maredsous* [1890], etc. 8vo. R 11497

Musée Guimet. *Annales du Musée Guimet. Paris*, 1880, etc. 4to. R 8253

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Palestine Exploration Fund. [Publications]. *London*, 1879, etc. Fol. 4to. R 32231

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Primitive Methodist quarterly review. . . . Vol. 22 [etc.]. New series Vol. 42 from the beginning. [Continued as:] *The Holborn review. London*, 1900, etc. 8vo. R 6313

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Revue biblique trimestrielle; publiée sous la direction des professeurs de l'École pratique d'Études Bibliques établie au Couvent Dominicain Saint-Étienne de Jérusalem. . . . [Continued as:] *Revue biblique internationale. Paris*, 1892, etc. 8vo. R 8717

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Revue chrétienne. Recueil mensuel. *Paris*, 1854, etc. 8vo. R 2764

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Revue des études juives. *See* Société des Études Juives.

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Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique. *See* Louvain: Université Catholique de Louvain.

Revue Mabillon. *See* Ligugé: Abbey.

Scotland: Church of Scotland. The principall acts of the solemne General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland . . . 1638 [etc.]. *Edinburgh*, 1639, etc. Fol. R 7712

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BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY MANCHESTER

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No. 2
APRIL
1915

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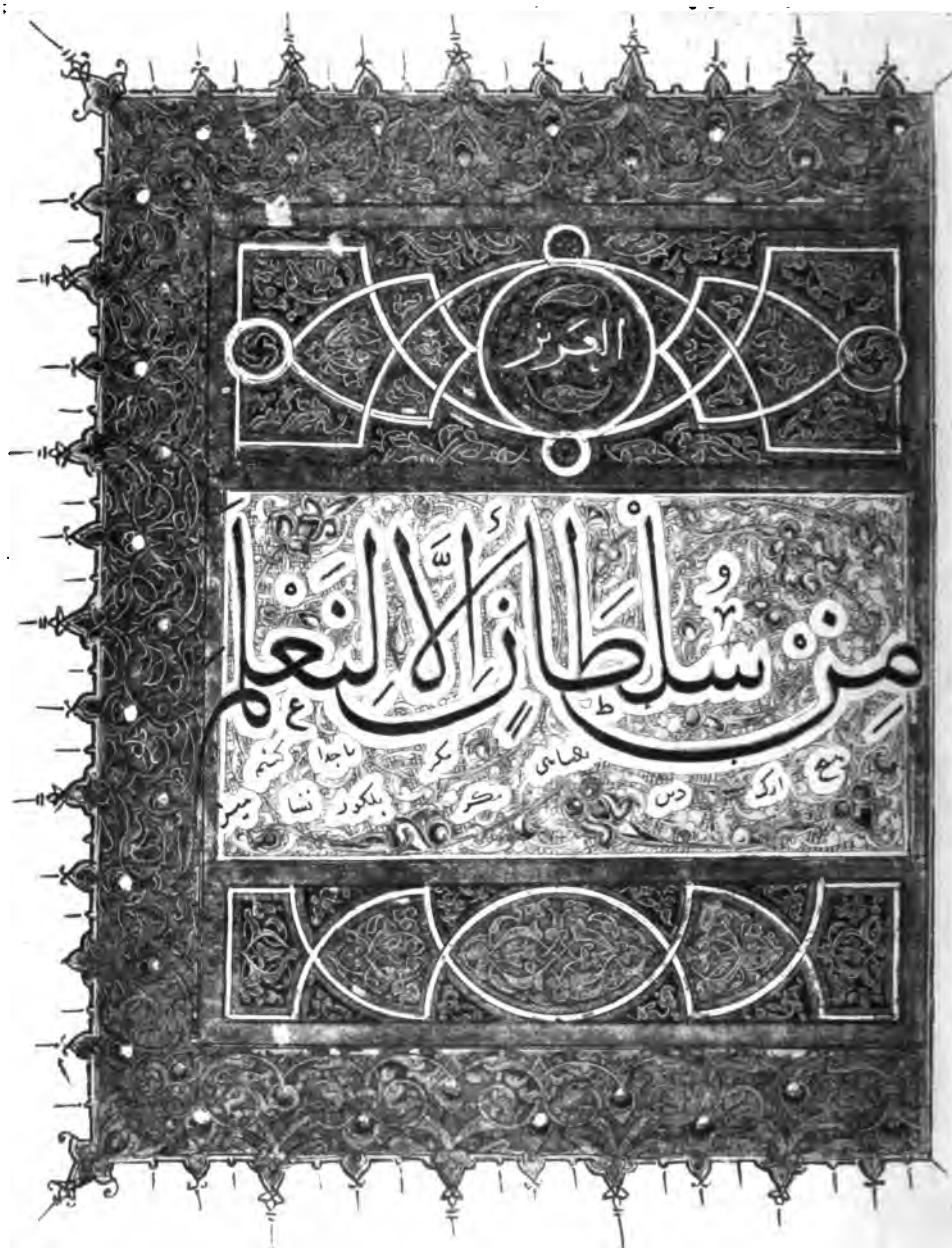
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BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY MANCHESTER

VOL. 2

APRIL, 1915

No. 2

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

AT the January meeting of the Council of Governors the fifteenth annual report was presented, consisting of a review of the work of the library for the year 1914, and it may not be out of place in these pages briefly to summarize such portions of the information contained therein, as are likely to be of interest to our readers.

At this meeting Sir Alfred Hopkinson, K.C., resigned the Chairmanship of the Council, in consequence of his removal CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL to London, following upon his retirement from the COUNCIL. Vice-Chancellorship of the University of Manchester, to the great regret not only of the Governors but of all the officials of the library.

Sir Alfred Hopkinson had occupied the position of chairman for upwards of eleven years, and the Council took the opportunity of placing upon the minutes a record of their high appreciation of the valuable services which he had rendered to the library.

We are glad to be able to report that Sir Alfred is by no means severing his connection with the library, since he retains his seat on the Council as one of the Representatives of the University and is also a Life-Trustee.

Sir George Watson Macalpine, J.P., a Representative Governor, and a Life-Trustee, who has already rendered inestimable service to the library, as Chairman of the House, Finance, and Building Committees, was elected to the position thus vacated.

The following reappointments were also made: Mr. William Carnelly as Vice-Chairman; Sir Thomas T. Shann, J.P., as Honorary Treasurer; and Mr. Gerard N. Ford, J.P., as Honorary Secretary.

Changes in the personnel of the Council occurred during the year. The Rev. A. W. H. Streuli resigned the seat PERSONNEL OF THE COUNCIL which he had held as a Co-optative Governor since 1898, in consequence of his removal

to Peterborough, and was succeeded by the Rev. J. E. Roberts, M.A., B.D.

On the 7th of October the library sustained a great loss through the death of Mr. Stephen Joseph Tennant in the seventy-second year of his age. Mr. Tennant was the twin brother of the late Mrs. Rylands, and was closely associated with the institution from its inception. As one of the original Trustees, as a Life-Governor, and as Honorary Treasurer, he served the library with untiring devotion and ability from the date of its inauguration until within a few days of his death.

The right to appoint a Representative Governor to succeed Mr. Tennant was vested in the Standing Committee of the Manchester Diocesan Conference, who appointed Professor C. E. Vaughan, M.A., Litt.D., as their representative.

Immediately upon the outbreak of the war two members of the staff volunteered for service in response to the appeal for SERVICE WITH HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES. recruits. The Governors at their succeeding meeting decided to give every facility to members of the library staff to volunteer, and at a later meeting placed the following resolution upon the minutes :—

“That members of the library staff who join the National Forces, “or the Red Cross, shall have their positions kept open, and “shall be paid such portion of their salaries as the Emergency Committee may determine, provided (a) that in no case shall the amount “paid be less than half, and (b) that no member of the staff shall “suffer financially as the result of enlistment.”

Six members of the staff are now either on full active service, in training, or are rendering part time service.

MR. OLIVER J. SUTTON, is serving in Egypt as First Lieutenant in the 9th Battalion of the Manchester Regiment.

MR. T. MURGATROYD, MR. E. C. SCHWEMMER, and MR. B. ENRIGHT have joined the Public Schools' Battalion.

MISS WOODCOCK is in training for Red Cross Work.

SERGEANT A. COOK is rendering service as Drill Instructor.

Hitherto, through the ready co-operation of the other members of the staff, most of whom from various causes are ineligible for military duty, the service of the library has been efficiently maintained, without extra assistance.

There is cause for great satisfaction in reviewing the work of the library during the period covered by the report, inasmuch that from whatever point of view it is regarded, there are unmistakable evidences of progress. The library's sphere of influence continues year by year to widen, in proportion as the power to serve readers is increased, and this result is being accomplished by the consistent development of its various departments and activities along the lines which, hitherto, have been most fruitful of good results, rather than in new developments of outstanding importance. It is therefore gratifying again to be able to report a steadily increasing use of the library by all classes of readers.

The efforts which have been employed throughout the year to develop the resources of the library, and to reduce the number of lacunæ upon its shelves, have met with gratifying success. In this respect the officials have to acknowledge the valuable assistance which they have received from readers who, in the course of their investigations, have often been able to call attention to the library's lack of very important authorities. In most instances it has been possible promptly to supply the deficiency, whilst in the case of works of rarity, which are not readily procurable through the ordinary channels of supply, steps have been taken to obtain them with the least possible delay. It is almost needless to say that suggestions of any kind, which have for their object the improvement of the efficiency and equipment of the library, are not only welcomed, but are cordially invited, and receive prompt, careful, and sympathetic consideration.

It may not be out of place briefly to refer to the help and guidance which officials are constantly called upon to render to scholars and students, not only by personal attention in the library itself, but also in response to requests from various parts of the world, through the medium of correspondence, with the occasional aid of the photographic equipment. Such services cannot be reduced to any reliable statistical statement, but they bear fruit in the grateful acknowledgments of indebtedness to the library, which often find expression in the footnotes and prefaces of published works.

The additions to the library during the year numbered 4964 volumes of printed books and manuscripts. These accessions include many rare and interesting items of Tudor and Stuart literature from the Huth collection, to the enrichment of a

section of the library which is already noteworthy ; a very useful collection of Portuguese literature, which has strengthened our collections on a side hitherto somewhat weak ; a much needed set of the "Collections of the William Salt Archaeological Society" ; a number of early printed books from the library of the late Colonel Fishwick ; two important works of Millingen on the "Peintures antiques des Vases Grecs" ; Lamberg's "Collection des Vases Grecs," publiée par A. Delaborde ; a set of the "Hunterian Club Publications," in 16 vols. ; Cohen's "Description des Monnaies frappées sous l'empire Romain," in 8 vols. ; a set of the "Revue des cours et conférences," in 42 vols. ; a set of the publications of the "Société Linguistique de Paris," in 18 vols. ; "Les Oeuvres de Saint Simon et d'Enfantin," in 47 vols. ; Phillips' "General State of Europe" (1688-1733), in 46 vols. ; a large collection of Commonwealth News-sheets ; and two sheets of printed Indulgences of 1498 and 1508 respectively, which are of great rarity and importance.

The manuscript purchases include a collection of Letters and Documents relating to Lancashire (1576-1760) ; a thirteenth century manuscript commentary of the "Sententiae" of Petrus Lombardus ; a Nebuchadnezzar cylindrical proclamation of unusual shape ; five Charters relating to the Church of Plympton, Devon (1180-1317) ; Queen Elizabeth's "List of New Year's Gifts," 1559, in the form of a long vellum roll bearing the Queen's signature several times over ; three Syriac MSS. of the Peshitta New Testament ; a collection of Staffordshire Deeds, 1508-1616 ; and a collection of Law Tracts in 13th and 14th century hands, containing "Magna Charta Edwardi I," "Parvus Hyngham," etc. The most noteworthy addition of the year was the Syriac manuscript of the "Odes and Psalms of Solomon," which the library was enabled to acquire through the generosity of Dr. Rendel Harris, and which was described in the pages of our last issue.

These are but a few of the works added to the library during the year, taken almost at random, but they furnish some idea of the character and importance of the accessions which are constantly being obtained.

In the accompanying list of donors, which contains 109 names, we have, in the 555 volumes so generously presented, fresh GIFTS TO proof of the sustained and increasing practical interest in THE LIBRARY. Several of the gifts have been offered as marks of

gratitude for the help and inspiration which the library, both by reason of its atmosphere and contents, has so often afforded. The Rev. D. A. de Mouilpied's welcome gift of 126 volumes of Huguenot literature, some of which are of considerable rarity, was of this character. Mr. and Mrs. Bentham presented 80 volumes of miscellaneous literature, including some useful additions to the Oriental section of the library, in memory of the late Canon Atkinson. Mr. Thomas Wise, a most generous friend of the library, has presented a number of volumes of his privately printed reprints of unique Browning, Barrow, and Brontë items, which are in his personal collection. Of these reprints the edition is strictly limited to thirty copies, all of which are intended for private circulation. There is a pathetic interest about the beautifully printed catalogue presented by Mrs. Widener, of New York, in memory of her son, the brilliant young bibliophile, who went down in the "Titanic," carrying with him some remarkable bibliographical treasures, including an unique copy of the first issue of Bacon's "Essays". The volume consists of a "Catalogue of an important collection of the books and manuscripts of Robert Louis Stevenson in the library of the late Henry Elkins Widener," the bibliographical value of which is considerable, since it contains an almost complete list of the first editions of Stevenson's works. There are many other volumes of outstanding interest amongst the gifts equally deserving of mention, but in a short summary of the report, such as the present, it is not possible to do more than refer to one or two which seem to call for special notice.

In the name of the Governors we take this opportunity of renewing the thanks, already expressed in another form, to the donors of these generous gifts, and also of assuring them that these expressions of interest and goodwill are a most welcome source of encouragement.

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Interest in the public lectures, which have come to be regarded as one of the established institutions of Manchester, has continued unabated throughout the year. In the current PUBLIC LECTURES. series several subjects of very exceptional interest have been dealt with by acknowledged authorities, in the course of which new theories have been advanced, which are calculated to impart a new stimulus to study in their respective fields of research.

Many of these lectures, in an amplified form, are to appear in the pages of this and succeeding numbers of the BULLETIN, and we take this opportunity of thanking the respective lecturers for so generously and readily acceding to our request to allow them to be published in this form. The lecture which Dr. Rendel Harris delivered on the 5th of January on "The Origin of the Cult of Dionysos," appears in the present number. Unfortunately the personality of the lecturer, and the brilliant flashes of humour and scholarship, in the form of asides, with which the lecture was illuminated, cannot be reproduced in cold print.

The same remarks apply with equal force to the lectures of Professor Conway on "The Youth of Vergil," of Professor Tout on "A Mediaeval Burglary," and of Professor Elliot Smith on "Ancient Egypt and its influence on the Far East". We are fortunate, however, in being allowed to give permanence to the interesting results of the investigations which the preparation of these lectures involved.

Of each of these lectures a small number of separately printed issues will be published. These will be on sale by the usual agents at sixpence each.

Encouraged by the enthusiastic welcome which has been accorded to the BULLETIN in its revival, we shall endeavour to THE FUTURE OF THE "BUL- give to it greater permanence as a literary organ, by the LETIN". publication of a regular succession of original articles, such as those which appear in the present issue. We shall not lose sight of the original and primary object of the periodical, which is to call attention to the possibilities of usefulness which the library offers, by the regular publication of lists of accessions, and special reading lists and

bibliographies ; but we believe we can also serve a useful purpose by inviting communications, which may take the form of literary and historical notes and queries.

Experience teaches us that much valuable time and energy is often wasted by two or more persons doing the same work in ignorance of each other's labours. Might we not help to obviate a good deal of this waste, by affording in our pages an opportunity for circulating information respecting bibliographical and other work which may be in progress, and in so doing render a service to scholars which would directly tend to the advancement of knowledge ?

We repeat what we said in our last issue that it is our ambition to make of the BULLETIN a useful medium of communication between the library and its readers, including the increasing number of students and scholars in all parts of the world who are interested in its welfare. By this means each might be enabled to profit by the experience of the other, and a feeling will be fostered that all are engaged in a common work, which cannot be other than beneficial in its effects.

It is scarcely necessary to say that no article or communication will be admitted to these pages which does not, in the editor's judgment, add something to knowledge.

One of the immediate results of the barbarous destruction of the University of Louvain with its famous library, was to call LOUVAIN forth not only a storm of righteous indignation against the UNI-
perpetrators of such an unprovoked act of vandalism, but VERSITY LIBRARY. also a widespread and sympathetic interest in the history of this interesting foundation. Many requests reached us for information respecting the history and the contents of the library, which we were unable to satisfy, in consequence of the inadequate character of the available authorities. We ventured, therefore, to make an appeal on behalf of our readers to Dr. A. Carnoy, the Louvain Professor of Zend, Pehlevi, and Greek Palæography, at present resident in Cambridge, for a brief but authoritative description of the library and its contents. The request was transmitted to Dr. L. Van der Essen, the Louvain Professor of History, at present in America, with the result that we are able to offer to our readers the interesting article which appears in the present number, possessing all the authority of first-hand knowledge.

It may interest readers to learn that Professor Van der Essen has been lecturing since the commencement of January at the University

of Chicago, on the History of Belgium, and has now been appointed to the faculty for the remainder of the academic year.

We take this opportunity of thanking Professor Van der Essen and also Professor Carnoy for their kind and prompt response to our request.

Accompanying the article referred to is an appeal on behalf of the Louvain Library to which we venture to call special attention. We feel sure that there are many of our readers who would welcome an opportunity of giving practical expression to their sympathy with the authorities of the University, by joining us in the steps which we are taking, and which have for their object the rehabilitation of the devastated library. Offers of suitable works should be addressed to the Librarian of the John Rylands Library, Manchester.

The writer to whom we are indebted for the article on "An Old Turki Manuscript in the John Rylands Library" (Dr. A. Mingana) is one of the foremost authorities, not only on the Arabic language and literature, which is his native tongue, but on Syriac and the Semitic group of languages in general, and their literatures.

Dr. Mingana was responsible, in collaboration with Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis, for the publication of that interesting and important volume which appeared last year under the title, "Leaves from Three Ancient Qur'ans, possibly Pre-Othmanic, with a list of their variants". These leaves, recovered from a composite palimpsest, some pages of which are double palimpsest, purchased at Suez by Mrs. Lewis in 1895, present us with portions of a text differing so much from the *Textus Receptus*, as to constitute the beginnings of a textual criticism of the Qur'an.

Other articles from Dr. Mingana's pen may be looked for in future issues of the BULLETIN, since the Governors of the Library have been fortunate enough to secure his services in connection with the preparation of an exhaustive catalogue of the large and important collection of Arabic, Turkish and Syriac manuscripts in the possession of the library, numbering upwards of twelve hundred volumes, and including many texts not to be found elsewhere.

The second volume of the "Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library" is upon the point of publication. In the preparation of this volume Dr. Hunt has had associated with him Mr. J. de M. Johnson, M.A., late Senior Demy

AN OLD
TURKI
MANU-
SCRIPT.

of Magdalen College, and Dr. Victor Martin, of Geneva. The volume which runs to upwards of 500 pages deals with nearly 400 papyri, consisting mainly of non-literary documents of an official or legal character extending from the Ptolemaic to the Roman period. The chief interest centres in the description of the collection of carbonized papyri of Thmuis. These papyri were found, says Dr. Hunt, as well as others of the same group in various European collections, without doubt in the ruined building in Thmuis (Tell Timai), partly excavated by the expedition of the Egypt Exploration Fund during the season 1892-3, whose chambers were found choked by a medley of decayed rolls, and it is interesting to learn that the documents printed in this volume form the largest body yet published from this source. The texts, which are printed *in extenso*, are accompanied by extensive notes and commentaries, twenty-three plates of facsimiles in collotype, and most elaborate indices.

A number of documents of the Byzantine period remain to be dealt with. These will form the subject of a future volume, which it is hoped will appear at no very long interval.

Another thin quarto volume which is also upon the point of publication, consists of a "Description of 58 Sumerian TABLETS comprising Temple and other records from FROM Umma". These tablets were acquired for the library UMMA. some three years ago, at the suggestion of the late Prof. Hogg and Canon C. H. W. Johns. They have been transcribed, transliterated, translated, and described by the Rev. C. L. Bedale, M.A., Lecturer in Assyriology at the University of Manchester. The volume will be of considerable interest, since it probably makes available for study the first batch of tablets from Umma.

Canon Johns has rendered the editor very valuable assistance in the preparation of this volume for the press, and is adding to the many services which he has already rendered to the library, by contributing an interesting foreword, in which he describes the nature of the transactions recorded.

There may be some of our readers yet unfamiliar with the character of such documents who would be interested to learn something about these dainty little clay tablets. For that reason we reproduce some of the paragraphs in which Canon Johns has so graphically described them.

Most of them, and all of them it may be, are what are usually called temple accounts. The ancient Babylonian temples were organized much as were the monasteries and other religious houses in our Middle Ages. They had large estates which they managed themselves. From these and the gifts of the faithful, they received, yearly, large revenues; mostly in natural products. There were a number of persons attached to the temple, priests, officers, and ministers of various sorts, who lived at the expense of the temple. The temple stewards were bound to furnish amounts of food, and other allowances to the persons who had a customary claim on the temple. They were also bound to keep account of what they received and furnished in this way. Also the servants, slaves, shepherds, and husbandmen on the estates received allowances for wages and for the maintenance of the flocks and herds of the temple.

It was the custom to write down a record of each transaction on behalf of the temple, and the stewards or the scribes gradually accumulated vast numbers of these memoranda, which they used to enter up periodically on large tablets, many of which survive, and may be regarded as ledgers giving both receipts and expenditure for months or years together. From these accounts, could we exactly interpret them, we should gain a very clear notion of city life in Babylonia.

Anyone who has tried to study the various account books of the monasteries in our own country will understand that in addition to the difficulties of decipherment, the entries, even when read with certainty, give rise to endless questions which are often insoluble. The entries are not written as consecutive prose, nor with regard to literary rules of composition, but only with a view to conveying an intelligible meaning to those versed in such accounts. Local names for commodities, local measures, local saints or divinities, and many other details will afford subjects for research.

Yet another of the library publications which is nearly ready for issue, consists of a portfolio of facsimile reproductions of FACSIMILES
OF EARLY
ENGRAV.
INGS. eight early engravings which are preserved in The John Rylands Library. In addition to its fine collection of printed books of the fifteenth century, the library contains a small but very precious collection of the woodcuts and metal cuts that were issued separately in large numbers in the early part of the same period,

chiefly as aids to devotion. Two of these woodcuts are of exceptional interest and importance, and have been known and celebrated for a century and a half, but have not hitherto been reproduced in a satisfactory and trustworthy manner, by any of the modern photomechanical processes. The two woodcuts referred to, represent "St. Christopher" and "The Annunciation". The former has acquired a great celebrity by reason of the date (1423) which it bears, and which gave to it the position of the first dated woodcut.

Since the discovery in 1845, at Malines, of another woodcut representing "The Virgin and Child," and bearing the date 1418, which was afterwards acquired for the Royal Library at Brussels, and has it is to be hoped escaped the fury of the modern Vandals, the St. Christopher, in the estimation of some of the authorities, has lost its position. It must be pointed out, however, that the genuineness of the date on the Brussels print is seriously in dispute. There is a strong suspicion that the date has been faked, if not added later, since the character of the lettering in the date differs entirely from that found in the untouched ribbon scrolls, containing inscriptions, in the picture itself.

These and many other points of great interest will be dealt with by Mr. Campbell Dodgson, Keeper of the Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, a recognized authority on such matters, who has kindly supplied a descriptive letterpress and introduction.

The "St. Christopher" and "The Annunciation" have been reproduced in the exact colours of the originals, and also in monochrome. The other engravings, including an unusually fine dotted print, have been reproduced in monochrome. The price at which the portfolio will be sold will, it is hoped, not exceed five shillings.

Another interesting piece of work which has just been completed and is at present passing through the press, is the ENGLISH INCUN-
"Catalogue of English Incunabula in the John Rylands ABULA.
Library". It will be, if we mistake not, the first catalogue of the kind to be printed, and will consist of a full and minutely accurate bibliographical description of the library's remarkable collection of English books printed before 1501, including, of course, those printed by William Caxton. It will furnish full collations, and will be illustrated by facsimiles of pages from some of the outstanding and unique items in the collection.

Several other volumes are in the printer's hands, but we must reserve the description of them for some future occasion.

We have found it impossible to print the full list of the most important of the recent accessions to the library, without LIST OF ACCES- unduly increasing the number of pages in the present SIONS. issue. We have therefore reserved the second half of the list for publication in the July issue, when it will be accompanied by an alphabetical author index to both parts.

The classification of the items in this list has been carried out in accordance with the main divisions of the " Decimal System of Classification," originally devised by Melvil Dewey in 1873, and in the interest of those readers, who may not be familiar with the system, it may be advisable briefly to point out the advantages claimed for this method of arrangement.

The principal advantage of a classified catalogue, as distinguished from an alphabetical one, is that it preserves the unity of the subjects, and by so doing enables a student to follow its various ramifications with ease and certainty. Related matter is thus brought together, and the reader turns to one sub-division and round it he finds grouped others which are intimately connected with it. In this way new lines of research are often suggested.

One of the great merits of the Dewey Decimal System is that it is easily capable of comprehension by persons previously unacquainted with it. Evidence of the recognition of its merit is to be found in the general approval and extensive use of the system throughout England and the United States. Primarily it was constructed for the arrangement of books on the shelves, but it is now very widely applied to the construction of catalogues.

The distinctive feature of the system is its employment of the ten digits, in their ordinary significance, to the exclusion of all other symbols —hence the name, " decimal system ".

The sum of human knowledge and activity has been divided by Dr. Dewey into ten main classes—0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. These ten classes are each separated in a similar manner, thus making 100 divisions. An extension of the process provides 1000 sections, which can be still further sub-divided in accordance with the nature and requirements of the subject. Places for new subjects may be provided

at any point of the scheme by the introduction of new decimal points. For the purpose of this list we have not thought it necessary to carry the classification beyond the hundred main divisions, the arrangement of which will be found in the "Order of Classification" which precedes the list.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CULT OF DIONYSOS.¹

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MODERN research is doing much to resolve the complicated and almost interminable riddles of the Greek and Latin Mythologies. In another sense than the religious interpretation, the gods of Olympus are fading away : as they fade from off the ethereal scene, the earlier forms out of which they were evolved come up again into view ; the Thunder-god goes back into the Thunder-man, or into the Thunder-bird or Thunder-tree ; Zeus takes the stately form in vegetable life, of the Oak-tree, or if he must be flesh and blood he comes back as a Red-headed Woodpecker. Other and similar evolutions are discovered and discoverable ; and the gods acquire a fresh interest when we have learnt their parentage. Sometimes, in the Zeus-worship at all events, we can see two forms of deity standing side by side, one coming on to the screen before the other has moved off ; the zoömorph or animal form co-existing and hardly displacing the phytomorph or plant form.

One of the prettiest instances of this co-existence that I have discovered came to my notice in connection with a study that I was making of the place of bees in early religion. It was easy to see that the primitive human thinker had assigned a measure of sanctity to the bee, for he had found it in the hollows of his sacred tree : at the same time he had noticed that bees sprang from a little white larva, comparable with the maggot in a putrescent body. So he devised explanations of the origin of these larvæ, and not unnaturally theorised that the bee would arise in the body of an ox, if the ox were buried, or killed and shut up in a building, whose doors and windows were

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on 5 January, 1915.

closed for a sufficient length of time. Classical literature is full of these stories, and even Biblical literature is not destitute of the tradition, as witness the story of Samson, eating honey from the carcase of a lion. We will not, however, go to ancient literature, but to something much more ancient, the traditions and folk-lore of existing peoples.

For instance, there is a widespread folk-tale, according to which Jesus asks bread from an old woman who is ~~l~~aking, and upon refusal turns her into a woodpecker or an owl : you have a reminiscence of the story in Ophelia's statement in the play of Hamlet, that "the owl was a baker's daughter". This story, the explanation of which is not difficult, is, amongst the peasants of Little Russia, embroidered with another story from quite a different cycle. The old woman in this tale strikes Jesus on the head and makes a wound. In the wound is found a little worm, which Peter is bidden to extract and place in the hollow of a tree. The story-teller goes on to say that when they next passed that way, there was an abundance of honey in the tree. *Bees had been produced out of the Lord's head.*

In another form of the story, as told in Poland, Jesus is travelling with Peter and Paul, and asks for hospitality for the night from an old woman. Instead of a welcome they have stones thrown at them, and Paul is struck in the head. As the weather was hot, the wound putrified, and little maggots were produced, which Jesus took from the wound and placed in the hollow of a tree. A good while after, they passed that way again, and Jesus directed Paul to look in the tree hollow, where to his surprise *he found bees and honey sprung from his own head.*

In German Bohemia, the story is told without the introduction of the old woman. Jesus and Paul walk through the woods together. Christ's forehead itches, and Peter extracts the troublesome maggot and puts it in a hollow tree. Result as before.

Sometimes the peasant says that the bee-larva was found in a hole in the body of God, either an artificial hole made in his forehead, or elsewhere, from which it is removed into a corresponding hole in the tree, where bees are to be found.

In all these stories the oak in whose holes the bees are found has been externalised into the body of God in which the bees exist in germ-form. The Thunder-man is seen to be the externalisation of

the Thunder-tree ; the phytomorph and the anthropomorph standing side by side, and each of them being read in terms of the other, for each is the Thunder. Christ as the thunder-man has, in fact, stepped out of the Thunder-tree ; but he has not gone very far off and easily finds his way back.

Now it is easy to see that this method of regarding the oak as personified thunder, capable of an external and visible incarnation, may lead us to important results in other parts of ancient mythology. When, for example, we read that Athena sprang from the brain of Zeus, and was actually liberated from that temporary prison by the axe of Hephaestus, we have only to remember that Athena is the owl, and that, from the habits of the owl and its dwelling-place in the hollow tree, it has claims to be regarded as a Thunder-bird ; though, for want of sufficient colour-credentials, it cannot hold its own against the Woodpecker.

Zeus is, from this point of view, a projection of the Thunder-tree and of the Thunder-bird into human form, while Hephaestus with his axe (the thunder-axe of which we may see the wide diffusion in popular beliefs and in surviving cult-monuments) is himself an artificial double of the thunder-god, and in some respects nearer to the thunder than Zeus himself. Athena is the daughter of Zeus, because she is the daughter of the Thunder, and she springs from the thunder-struck oak.

We are now going to spend a little time over the myth of Dionysos, because it suggests a parallel to the birth of Athena. In Athena's case, the place of gestation is the head of Zeus, in the case of Dionysos, the story ran that when he was born of the intercourse of Semele and Zeus, and his mother had perished in the fiery embrace of her Olympian lover, Dionysos himself underwent gestation in the thigh of Zeus, and being born again from thence became the type of the twice-born man. It is natural, then, to enquire whether any explanation of the relations between Zeus and Dionysos can be made in terms of the oak-tree and the Thunder.

It is well known that the mythology of the Dionysos-cult furnishes some of the most obscure and intricate problems in the whole history of Greek religion. Who was Dionysos ? What is the meaning of his name ? Why is he born of Zeus and Semele ? And why re-born of Zeus ? How does he become a god of wine and take the

vine under his patronage? And what possible connection can there be between the Zeus-born babe, or the discoverer of the vine, or the Thracian hero of the Bacchic religion, whom the Maenads pursue in wild ecstasies upon the mountains? What connection has the Thracian Dionysos with the Phrygian Sabazios? How did they come to be identified one with the other? And how did the Bacchic revellers become identified at a later date with the followers of Orpheus and the initiates into the Orphic mysteries? And what is the meaning of the devotion to Dionysos in the very sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi? These are some of the questions which engage more or less successfully the attention of the students of Greek religion. Indeed, it is only after the enunciation of a series of inadequate hypotheses that the ground is cleared for one that harmonises and colligates the known facts and traditions. Without for a moment suggesting that it is in our power, by a fortunate intuition, to resolve the varied tangle of Dionysos-cults and customs, and the place of the god in Greek religion, we may perhaps be forgiven if we say that, up to the present, the solutions offered have failed because they did not go far enough back into primitive religion, and because they were not sufficiently simple. Suppose, then, we try and verify this statement by a hypothesis which goes down to the lowest stratum of religious ideas, and is as simple as it is primitive.

In order to make such a hypothesis, we recall the direction in which we were taken by Mr. A. B. Cook and others with regard to the character of the European Sky-God. He was found to be also a Thunder-god, who dwelt animistically in a thunder-struck tree (an oak-tree by preference as being the tree that is oftenest struck),¹ and whose bolts in the form of arrows or axe-heads were found, and often conserved in the neighbourhood of the tree, if not actually in its hollows. Moreover, as we have shown, the common belief that the thunder existed in bird-form, and could even be recognised as thunder by his red colour, led to the association of certain birds with the thunder and the thunder-tree. Last of all, it was evident that bees

¹ The oak is struck thrice as often as the pine, more than ten times as often as the beech. For the proof of this see my note in "Boanerges," p. 392, which was written without knowledge that the same result had been given in Frazer, "G. B.," VII, II. 298, from Warde Fowler in "Archiv für Religionswissenschaft," XVI (1913), pp. 318 sqq.

and honey, from being commonly found in hollow thunder-struck trees, had acquired a close affinity with the thunder-god, whether in bird-form or in his later human guise. The relationship was natural in any case ; but it was emphasised by the observation that the Woodpecker rifled the bees' nests. These things being so, we find that the animistic belief makes everything that thunder touches into thunder : the trees, the bird, the man, the axe.

If this be true, we must ask a further question : if the tree and its associated animate and inanimate forms are thunder, what shall we say of the parasites of the tree ? Are they thunder also ? In the case of the mistletoe, the evidence for an affirmative reply is being piled very high by Dr. Frazer in the "Golden Bough," and we have no need to repeat his arguments, or gather over again his multitudinous facts. The mistletoe, however, is not the only oak-parasite. We are thus led to our next hypothesis, which is that the ivy that grows on the oak is also thunder, and that when the phytomorph becomes the anthropomorph, the name of the new (subordinate) thunder-deity is Dionysos. In other words, *Dionysos is the ivy*, in the first instance, he is ivy, nothing more nor less. When we make that suggestion, we have gone back almost to the lowest stratum of religious belief, and it will be agreed that if we can defend our hypothesis, it is one of extreme simplicity.

In some respects the statement is not new ; we might show that the Greeks themselves made it, and at Acharnai, says Pausanias (I, xxxi. 6) they honour an Ivy-Dionysos ; this identification is also the goal towards which a number of modern investigators have been tending. There has been a general feeling that in order to solve the origins of Dionysos and of Dionysiac worship, we must go behind the vine and the cult of the vine. Miss Harrison tried to do this when, in her "Introduction to the Study of Greek Religion," she started the theory that behind the Thracian wine-god, there was a beer-god. With great ingenuity she replaced the Dionysian-goat by spelt (*Tragos*) and deduced the Dionysian title *Bromios* from oats (*Bromos*). Thus we lose the conventional origin of tragedy, the goat-song, and the traditional connection of Dionysos with the Thunder, so far as thunder is implied by one of his most popular titles (*Bromios*). Miss Harrison's theory did not find favour, and she very soon withdrew it, and the four titles which she thought she had explained, *Bromios*, *Braites*,

Sabazios, and Tragedy. The hypothesis was short-lived, and perhaps it was buried too hastily for decency. Even a hypothesis requires time for a death-certificate. I mean that it had an *a priori* verisimilitude which commends it ; when one thinks what beer has meant in the history of our own ancestors, and what it means to-day in almost all the tribes of East Africa, it is difficult to see how the latent inspiring principle of the beverage should have escaped some sort of divinisation. After all, there is a subterranean connection between Beer and Bible.

The fact is, however, that neither the beer-hypothesis nor the closely related mead-hypothesis is sufficient to explain Dionysos and his cult, though they may easily have been stages on the way to the recognition of a wine-god. So one of the first steps forward, i.e. backward, is to deny that Dionysos is the equivalent of alcohol. Accordingly Perdrizet said, in his "Cultes et Mythes du Pangée,"¹ that "primitively the Thracian Dionysos was not a god of wine". He then suggested that Dionysos might be the ivy, but gave the wrong reason, affirming that Dionysos was the god who presided over vegetable life, and for that reason his symbol was the evergreen, whose persistence in the winter attests that the death of nature is only an appearance. This exactly misses the point ; Dionysos is not a true vegetation-god ; the real reason for the identification of Dionysos with the ivy is that the ivy is the thunder, not, in the first instances, the symbol of any vegetable life, whatever vegetable connections may ultimately be developed. Yet on the other hand, how close Perdrizet came to the identification ! Here is an admirable summary² which he makes of the divinity of the ivy :—

"Il est croyable que dans les temps très anciens la lierre passait aux yeux des Thraces pour la résidence de leur divinité, probablement même était-il un de leurs totems : ainsi s'explique que pendant la période Hellenistique encore, les Dionysiastes se faisaient tatouer au signe de la feuille de lierre : et que les femmes, quand elles célébraient, comme dit Plutarque ('Quaest. Rom.' 112) la 'Passion de Bacchus,' mettaient en pièces des branches de lierre et en mangeaient les feuilles ; la lierre, comme la faon, le chevreau ou le taureau, était un forme de Dieu ; et comme ces animaux, il servait aux repas de communion qui formaient le mystère par excellence de la Bacchanale."

¹ I. c., p. 64.

² I. c., pp. 65, 66.

Perdrizet was referring to the attempts made to introduce the Greek religion into Jerusalem, and to force it upon Egyptian Jews, and in particular to the decree of Ptolemy Philopator that the Jews should be "branded with the ivy-leaf, the emblem of Bacchus"¹ (3 Macc. ii. 29 : cf. 2 Macc. vi. 7). Philopator goes farther in this compulsory Hellenisation than Antiochus Epiphanes, who had required the Jews to take part in Bacchic processions, carrying thyra twined with ivy : he will have them take the totem-mark of the god. It was not meant to be a degradation, for he was tattooed himself with the same sacred symbol.

The description of the tearing and eating of the ivy in a sacramental manner is also very instructive ; it is the god that is eaten here,² just as in the more terrible sacraments of raw flesh with which we are familiar in early religion in general, and in the Bacchic revels in particular. What Perdrizet then missed was the identification of the underlying god. He saw the ivy off the oak : if he had seen it on the oak, the whole matter would have been much clearer to him. And we are inclined to think it might have been clearer : for consider how closely Dionysos is connected with the thunder, not only by his miraculous birth from the thunder-smitten Semele, but also by the titles and descriptions given to him by the Greek poets. Miss Harrison tried to get Bromios away from the thunder, but she admitted that throughout the Bacchae "Dionysos is in some degree a god of thunder as well as thunder-born, a god of mysterious voices, of strange confused orgiastic music, which we know he brought with him from the North".³ "In some degree a god of thunder" !—the expression will bear re-writing. When we see the ivy climbing over

¹ τοὺς δὲ ἀπογραφομένους χαράσσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ πυρὸς εἰς τὸ σῶμα παρασήματα Διονύσῳ κισσοφύλλῳ.

—3 Macc. II. 29.

γενόμενης δὲ Διονυσίων ἑορτῆς ἡμαγκάζοντο
κισσοὺς ἔχοντες πομπεύειν τῷ Διόνυσῳ.

—2 Macc. VI. 7.

See further on the totem-marks of Dionysos in Miss Harrison's review of Perdrizet, "Classical Review," December, 1910.

² Miss Harrison, "Prolegomena," p. 429, misses the meaning of the chewing of the ivy and suggests that "the Maenads chewed ivy leaves for inspiration, as the Delphic prophetess chewed the bay". They ate the god for inspiration, would be a more correct statement.

³ *Ibid.* p. 415.

the oak, and attaching itself to it, the birth from Zeus and Semele, the tree and the earth (for it is well established now that Semele means earth), becomes intelligible. *The tree is the thunder and makes all its parasites and all its denizens thunder.*¹

The new hypothesis connects a number of scattered phenomena and traditions together. To begin with : the vine displaces the ivy : why ? Simply because the first vines were trained on trees, as indeed they long continued to be : so that the transference from ivy-Dionysos to vine-Dionysos was easy and natural. The ivy, however, never loses its place in the cult, in spite of the predominance given to the new-comer. It will stay on the thyrsus : it will continue to be the totem mark of the god. Thus the vine and the ivy grow side by side. They are on the same oak. In the language of mythology they both grow over the ruins of the thunder-struck palace of Semele.² In Euripides, *Bacchae*, 41 f., it is the vine that so spreads itself : in Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 651, it is the ivy that clings to the pillars of the ruined house, and the scholiast has a note to the effect that when the Kadmean palace was struck by the lightning of Zeus, the ivy grew over the pillars so as to hide and protect the infant god. On this ground it is said that the god is called *Perikionios* (pillar-clinging) by the Thebans. The royal palace to which the vine and ivy cling is originally the sacred oak. Even the description of Dionysos in terms of the ivy clinging to the pillar is probably a misunderstanding of an original *Perkunios*, *Perkun* being the oak-and-thunder-god of the

¹ This is, I suppose, the explanation of the legend of Dionysos-statues with faces painted red. According to Pausanias the Corinthians made two images of Dionysos out of a tree, and the images had red faces and gilt bodies (Paus., II, II. 6; Frazer, "G. B.", II. 161). So also at Phigaleia, there were images of Dionysos, covered with leaves of ivy and laurel, through which it was possible to see that the fetish had been smeared with vermillion (Paus., VIII, XXXIX. 6). Farnell thinks ("Cults of the Greek States," V, 243) that, "in these cases the idol's face was smeared with red, no doubt in order to endow it with a warm vitality, for 'red' is a surrogate for blood, and anointing idols with blood for the purpose of animating them is a part of old Mediterranean magic". We have shown that there is another explanation of "red" as the colour of the thunder, and that this is a widespread and fundamental conception in the growth of cults. See "Boanerges," c. 4.

² We may compare the story which Philostratus ("Imagg.", II. 19) tells of a certain savage Phorbas, who dwelt under an oak tree, *which was regarded as his palace*, whither the Phlegyæ resorted to him for judgment.

northern nations, whose name still survives in the Slavonic Perun, and in the Latin *Quercus* and the Hercynian forest. As the Greeks had lost the word for oak, which answers to the Latin *Quercus*, they naturally made *Perkunios* into *Perikionios*. For once mythology in a minor point was a disease of language. The transfer of names was invited by the fact that, in mythology, a pillar commonly represents a tree.

When we use the word parasite of a plant which grows on or over another, we are not to be understood as using the word in a botanical sense. Any plant closely attached to a tree is a parasite of that tree and shares its fortunes and partakes of its life. To the early botanist the ivy was as much a part of the oak as the mistletoe.

The matter may be taken a little farther : for there are other creeping plants which are found in the cult of Dionysos, and have a similar origin to the ivy. For instance, there is a plant called *smilax* (*milax* of the Attic speech), which (whatever be its exact botanical equivalent) turns up with the ivy and the vine in the ritual of Dionysos. Just as the ivy and the vine are found growing side by side over the pillars of the ruined palace of Semele, so the smilax, the ivy, and the vine are found in the garlands of the Bacchae. Thus Athenaeus¹ tells us that in the great Bacchic procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the maidens were crowned with *ivy, vine-leaves, and smilax*. And this conjunction explains the language of the Bacchae (703-5) where the Maenads are garlanded with *ivy, oak, and smilax*:

Then did they wreath their heads
With ivy, oak and flower-starred briony.

—A. S. WAY.

The same conjunction of ivy, oak, and smilax together with the addition of pine-branches is in *Bacchae*, 104 *sqq.*, but this time the smilax is described as green *with fair fruits* : so it is probably a creeper whose identification with the thunder has been assisted by its red berries. We have traces, also, of another creeper, the Clematis : in the inscriptions from Cos,² there is an allusion to Dionysos Skul-litas, and the name finds its explanation in a gloss of Hesychius,

¹ p. 198 E.

² Ed. Paton and Hicks, No. 37.

Σκυλλίς κληματίς. So we have a Clematis-Dionysos, to set with the ivy-Dionysos, and with the smilax-Dionysos.

The case of the smilax ought not to be dismissed too hastily : for the question arises whether it is not something more than one of a group of creepers associated with the oak-tree. It is evident that in the Ptolemaic times it has acquired sanctity, and become the subject of regulation on the part of those who have charge of the Dionysian revels. May it not be that smilax has a sanctity of its own, apart from the tree as well as upon it ?

The suggestion has been made that we may identify the smilax with the wild briony, or some similar climbing-plant with *red berries*. Let us see what Pliny says on the plant in question. Here is a passage from the " Natural History " (H. N. xvi. 153-155) :—

" *Similis est hederae e Cilicio quidem primum profecta, sed in Græcia frequentior, quam vocant smilacem, densis geniculata caulis, spinosis fructectosa ramis . . . fert racemos labruscae modo, non hederae, colore rubro, . . . id volgus ignorans plerumque festa sua polluit hederam existimando, sicut in poetis aut Libero patre aut Sileno, quis omnino scit quibus coronentur ?* "

Pliny is clearly describing the smilax as used in the Bacchic festivals : he thinks the plant has no business there : it is not a true ivy, but has been mistaken for such by the vulgar and the poets. Incidentally it differs from the ivy in having red berries.

Yes ! but perhaps the vulgar and the poets knew more about the matter than the natural philosopher. We are grateful for the mention of the red berries. They help us to identify the plant with the thunder. At this point we have an exact parallel in the Rowan-tree, which is Thor's tree on account of its red berries. Its redness is emphasised in its name : if any confirmation were needed that the sanctity of the tree is in its berries, the following passage from the Kalevala will be sufficient :—

In the yard there grows a rowan,
Thou with reverend care shouldst tend it.
Holy is the tree there growing,
Holy likewise are its branches,
On its boughs the leaves are holy
And its berries yet more holy.

— "Kalevala," tr. Kirby, xxiii. 221-226.

Note further that amongst the Finns, whose traditions are incorporated

in the *Kalevala*, the mountain-ash is called *Rauni*, and is regarded as the consort of the Thunder-god (*Ukko*).¹

I think it is likely that it is to these creepers, beginning with the vine and the ivy, which must surely be vegetable cult symbols, that we owe the cult animals, the goat and the fawn. For if these creatures eat the green plants that climb over the oak, they become the god, just as the Maenads do when they chew the ivy, or when at a second remove they eat the flesh and drink the blood of the animal that has eaten the sacred plant. Both the goat and the fawn occupy a large place in the ritual of Bacchic religion ; the men are clad in goat-skins, and the women in fawn-skins ; they are pretending to be goats and fawns. How does that help them ? It helps them to annex and assimilate their god. It seems certain that the fawn as a cult animal, is very near to the origin of the cult : for the Maenads are tattooed with fawn marks, just as the male worshippers are with ivy-leaves : so that the ivy and the fawn are probably primitive symbols. If that be so, the ivy is the earlier symbol, for the fawn only comes in because it has eaten the ivy, or one of the companion growths of the ivy. It might be that both the goat and the fawn had been eating the vine trained on the oak.

These considerations will help us to see how much is gained for the understanding of the cult, by taking the sacred ivy back to the tree from which it originally derived its sanctity.

Notice, in the next place, how the discovered oak-parentage of Dionysos helps us to understand his connection with honey and with the Melissai and with Aristaeus. We have shown that Aristaeus is the original countryman's god, Goodman-god in the language of Eastern Europe, and that amongst his special cares must be reckoned the care of bees. He is himself the discoverer of honey. It is through the bees that Aristaeus comes into the circle of thunder-animisms, his daughters are the *Méliσσαι*, or Bee-maidens, who will ultimately

¹ "To *Rauni* . . . corresponds the Finno-Lappish *Raudna*, to whom were consecrated the berries of the mountain-ash, and as E. N. Setälä has shown, it is a Scandinavian loan-word (Ice. *reynir*, Swed. *rönn*, cf. Scots *Rowan*).

"The Finns also regard the mountain-ash in their courtyards, and especially its berries, as sacred. The idea that the *Ukko* and *Rauni* were husband and wife finds its explanation in the close relations which both Teutons and Litu-Slavs believed to exist between the thunder and the oak."

—Kaarle Krohn in Hastings, "Dict. R. E.," s.v. Finns.

become priestesses of Demeter at Eleusis. He himself is little more than a glorified shepherd, made famous by the discovery of honey and of olive oil. Now if we turn to Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 1132, we find that Medea is wedded in the "sacred grot" of Makris, the daughter of Aristaeus, the finder of honey and oil ; it was she who took to her breast the infant Dionysos and touched his baby lips with honey. Here is the passage :—

αὐτονυχὶ κούρῃ θαλαμήιον ἔτυοι εὐνὴν
ἄντρῳ ἐν ἡγαθέῳ, τόύι δή ποτε Μάκρις ἔναιεν,
κούρῃ Ἀρισταίοι μελίφρονος, ὃς πα μελισσέων
ἔργα πολυκμήτοι τ' ἀγεύρατο πᾶρ ἐλαίης·
κεινῃ δὴ πάμπρωτα Δίος Νυσήιον υῖα
Εὐβοίης ἐντοσθεν Ἀβαντίδος φένι κόλπῳ
δέξατο, καὶ μέλιτι ἔηρὸν περὶ χεῖλος ἔδευσεν,
εὐτέ μιν"Ερμελας φέρεν ἐκ πυρός".

And here is Mr. Way's rendering of it :—

And the self-same night for the maiden prepared they the couch of the bride,

In a hallowed cave, where of old time Makris wont to abide,
The child of the Honey-lord, Aristaeos, whose wisdom discerned
The toils of the bees, and the wealth of the labour of olives learned.
And she was the first that received and in sheltering bosom bore
The child Nysaian of Zeus, on Euboea's Abantian shore,
And with honey she moistened his lips when the dew of life was dried,
When Hermes bare him out of the fire.

So it appears that the babe Dionysos was entrusted at first to one of the Bee-Maidens, whom we may call the "tall Miss Goodman". Thus the Bee-maidens are a duplicate of the Kuretes, and they stand to Dionysos in the same relation as the Kuretes to Zeus. They bring the honey to him for baby-Thunder likes honey. *Dionysos is really a new Zeus*, and has similar experiences to the old one.

Moreover, the connection of the Ivy-god with the Oak-god, and with the Oak-god's bees, helps us to see how in certain quarters he usurped the functions of Zeus-Aristaeus and became himself Bee-Master. Accordingly, Ovid makes him responsible both for the finding of the first honey, and the fashioning of the first bee-hive.

Liba deo fiunt; sucis quia dulcibus ille
Gaudet et a Baccho mella reperta ferunt:

Colligit errantes et in arbore claudit inani
Liber: et inventi praemia mellis habet.

— "Fasti," III. 735-744.

It is even possible that the Satyrs who accompany Dionysos and the Maenads are originally a group of Kuretes, and that the Maenads may have arisen out of an antecedent group of Bee-maidens. This would explain why the Maenads are so constantly spoken of as the "nurses" (*τιθῆναι*) of Dionysos. In the Orphic Hymns, for example, Dionysos is invoked (Hymn xxx) as

εὐμενὲς ἡτορ ἔχων, σὺν ἐύκάγοισι τιθῆναις.

This connection between Dionysos and Honey is even more striking in the great vase of Hieron : here we have the god adorned with a necklace of honey-combs strung on sprays of ivy. The god himself is, as Miss Harrison points out,¹ a mere herm draped in a ritual garment, that is, a tree-pillar. We have, then, the tree, the ivy that grows on the tree, and the honey that is found in the tree.

It will be seen that we are beginning to answer some of the questions connected with the Dionysos-cult. Now for a word or two with regard to his name. The old-fashioned explanation was a geographical one, he was from his birth-place Nysa or Nysaios. The modern explanation is that of Kretschmer² who makes *νύσος* = a son or young man. According to this explanation, Dionysos is simply a Thracian form of Dioscouros. I am not altogether satisfied that we have got the true solution of the problem : but no doubt Kretschmer's explanation, at present, holds the field.

The explanation of Dionysos as the ivy and the identification of the ivy with the thunder helps us to understand why the ivy is used in making fire by friction of two sticks. One stick, at least, of the two should have the thunder in it, for how can one get fire out of that which has not fire in it? Frazer³ points out that both Greeks and Indians preferred to make one of the fire-sticks from a parasitic plant and suggests that the reason of the selection is the analogy of the union of the sexes, one stick, the borer, being male, and the other female, and the parasite which embraces the tree, being considered male. That fire-sticks are male and female is evident, but the reason for the selection of the ivy or wild-vine for a fire-stick lies, not in the sex attributed to the plant, but in the thunder which it contains. Moreover, of parasitic plants employed in making of fire, it is not necessary that the plant should be a vine or creeper. Frazer himself

¹ "Prolegomena," p. 429.

² "Aus der Anomia," p. 19.

³ "The Magic Art," II. 251.

has pointed out that in Vedic times the male fire-stick was cut by preference from a sacred fig-tree which grew as a parasite on a *sami* or female tree. So the question is raised whether the connection of Dionysos with the fig may not be similar to his connection with the ivy. Does the wild-fig ever grow parasitically on the oak? If it does, there is thunder in it, and it can be a Dionysos and a fire-stick. The point deserves, perhaps, a closer investigation.

While talking of fire-sticks, it occurs to me that it is perhaps in this direction that we are to look for the explanation of the apparent androgynism of Dionysos. The artistic representations of the god are effeminate in the later periods of Greek art, but even in the earlier times we have significant suggestions of feminine dress and appearance. We think, for instance, of Pentheus in the *Bacchae*, dressed up as a female Dionysos in order that he may spy out the revels: and the rude images of the aniconic period are often draped and their heads are covered with feminine gear. Farnell brings the point out clearly in the following sentences: when speaking of the *Thrasyllos* statue in the British Museum, he says, "In the forms of the breasts, which are soft and almost feminine, we note the beginnings of that effeminacy, which becomes the dominant characteristic of the Dionysiac types". Again, "An interesting vase of the earlier fifth-century style, almost certainly by Hieron, had embodied the legend of the confusion of sex of the infant Dionysos: we see Zeus holding the divine babe attired as a girl, behind him is Poseidon and Hermes goes before: and this is a direct illustration of the story preserved by Apollodorus". Again: "Effeminacy in the forms renders it difficult at times to distinguish a head of Bacchus from one of Ariadne". Again: "In the larger (Pergamene) frieze Dionysos is a dramatic and impressive figure enough, but the breasts are half feminine". These quotations will show how decided was the tradition of a feminine element in the idea of Dionysos. How could such a conception have arisen? What was there in the origin of the cult that was the germ which found such pronounced efflorescence in Greek art? I am going to hazard a speculative solution.

It is known that the ivy is one of the early forms of the fire-stick, out of which by rapid rotation of one stick in another fire was produced; for example, ivy and laurel were conjugate fire-sticks, the ivy being the male and the laurel the female. Now, if we imagine an

earlier stage, in which both the fire-sticks were made of ivy-wood, as might easily have been the case, as soon as it was recognised that the fire had gone into the ivy, then we should have not only a male Dionysos but a conjugate female Dionysos, and one way of expressing this is to say that Dionysos is androgynous. We may get some confirmation of this explanation in the following way : one of the alternative forms for a fire-stick is a piece of nut-wood : when the need-fire was last made in Westmoreland in 1848, I was told by an old man who took part in the ceremony, and put the cattle through the smoke of the new fire, that the said new fire had been produced by the friction of nut-wood. Now Servius tells us that in Laconia, Dionysos loved a maiden named Caroea (a Miss Nutt, that is), and that he turned her into a nut-tree. As usual in such cases, it was really the nut-tree that was turned into the maid. Her relation to Dionysos is that of the female fire-stick to the male.¹ That was how it happened. It was the ivy that loved the nut-tree. As I have said, this is a speculation and not a demonstration. There may be other explanations possible. The ivy, for instance, may have actually grown over the nut-tree. We should, then, have to look for a feminine Dionysos in some other direction. There is enough evidence extant to make us believe in the existence of such a feminine counterpart, even if we may not at once be able to say who or what she was.

We have now established our main point as to the meaning of the ivy in the cult of Dionysos. The probability is that Dionysos himself is a lesser Zeus, and through the ivy, a kind of Dioscure, or Zeus-child. This simple and elementary belief has been combined with other nature-cults, roughly described as Thracian or Phrygian, and Bacchic or Orphic, and the outcome is the god Dionysos, the last recruit to the Olympian family, and one of the best of the whole crowd.

¹ Servius, "Ecl." VIII. 29.

اَنْهُ كَانُوا اَذْقَلُ لَهُمْ
 مَلَيْنَهُ اِيَّانَ بَعْدَهُ
 اَوْلَادَ اِرْدِيلَارَ
 مَرْلَانْدَارَا
 الْأَرْدَانَا
 لَكَمَةُ شُورَدَ
 جَنْ خَانَ اِيلَا
 لَسْتَ بِرَوْ
 رَضْ كَعْ خَنْتَ
 كَعْ بَرْسَتَنْدَ مَكْ خَلَانَ
 بُوْسَاعْلَقْ قَلْلَوْرَادَلَرَ
 خَرَى وَقْ تَسْنَغَارَقَا
 وَبَقْوَلُوْزْ اِيَّانَالَّاَرَلَوْ
 دَمْخُونَدَ
 اِيَّانَلَدَ
 مَانْدَكَانَ
 اُمَانْدَارَا
 يَزَ
 قَوْدَغَلَ لَارْمَبَزَ

KORAN (XXXVII. 34-35). ARABIC TEXT WITH PERSIAN AND OLD TURKİ TRANSLATIONS
 (XIVTH-XVTH CENT.)

AN IMPORTANT OLD TURKI MANUSCRIPT IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

BY THE REV. A. MINGANA, D.D.

IN the Eastern parts of the country from which the actual Turks came, the inhabitants spoke the Uighur language of the Kudatku Bilik, or the so-called old Turki. This language has but slight affinity with the Osmanli Turkish used by the Turks in their official acts from the fifteenth century onwards. The modern Turkish has a nearer ancestor in the language known as Chaghatai, constituted in a literary form principally by the poet Mir 'Ali Shir (906 A.H.). Even this last language a Turk of our days would hardly understand. The most common words are generally very different in their morphological form and in their lexicographic formation. For instance, the word used to express "God" is in modern Turkish either the Persian **بُل** or the Arabic **الله**, but I doubt whether many Turks of Constantinople or the neighbouring districts are able to understand the word **ىكىرى** of the Chaghatai.

At the time when the Turkish hordes settled in Asia Minor and pushed forward their success until the Byzantine hegemony was definitely overthrown in Stambul and in the lands situated in the South-western parts of the surrounding seas, a thick mist of ignorance enveloped their most enlightened circles. The constant intercourse with civilized nations occasioned, however, among them a progressive and salutary feeling towards scientific questions which gave their neighbours an unapproachable superiority. The first step in this direction was taken on the ground of their ancestral literature, and the poems of Mir 'Ali Shir and of Bâber became the subject of the studies of many a Turkish patriot.

This language roused even greater interest among classic Persians, and few indeed are the books written in it which are not represented in the language of Sa'di. Many useful lucubrations have been written by Persians to explain the philological difficulties of a language

to which they were so curiously inclined. The catalogue of the British Museum and of other public libraries of Europe contain many Persian-Chaghatai dictionaries and grammars; see Ch. Rieu's "Mus. Brit. Catalog." Add. 6646; 16, 759; 2892; 1021; 1712; 1912; 404, etc.

The Turks themselves, attracted by their learned co-religionists, began, possibly towards the end of the fifteenth century, to devote themselves to the study of their mother-tongue, and some libraries fortunately show us the outcome of their researches. The MS. (Mus. Brit. Add. 7886) is a small Turki dictionary compiled chiefly from the works of Mir 'Ali Shir and explained in classic Turkish by an anonymous Turkish writer. The book is generally known under the title of "Abushka," which forms the first word explained in it. Its full title is *اللغات النونية والاستعهادات المفتاتية*. A copy of it is found in Munich (No. 221), dated 960 A.H., and another one in Petrograd (No. 594) with the date of 967 A.H.

This language is on its broad lines fairly well understood by Orientalists. The Persians have smoothed the path of our access to it, and for this we are grateful to them. On this subject, the lexicographical works of the eminent Orientalists Vambéry, Zenker, and Pavet de Courteille, which explain hundreds of difficult words, are viewed with great esteem by their successors.

Of the old Uighur language of the semi-Mongols who inhabited the South-western parts of Manchuria, little is known, owing to the scarcity of inscriptions and of historical and literary compositions referring with certainty to Eastern Mongolia. It is, in a strict sense, this last country which gave birth to the famous Gengis Khan, who destroyed the Arab Empire of the East and stifled for a long time the attempts at domination of upstart descendants of some Kurdish and Turkish eponyms. As the origin of the peoples called Mongols, Tatars, Uighurians are very obscure, some useful purpose might be served by an attempt to throw a ray of light on the point which constitutes the aim of this article.

So far as our historical knowledge goes, we may assert that the Uighurians did not found an Empire,¹ but having quickly followed the Mongols in their attempt to conquer the old world stretching from

¹ Cf. N. Elias' "The Tarikh-I-Rashidi," 1895, pp. 72 sqq.

the North-eastern parts of India as far as the valley of the Euphrates, they are justly incorporated in history with their Eastern conquerors, and counted as one of them. A Western branch of these Uighurians led by Tughrul and 'Othmān occupied step by step the whole of Asia Minor, with all the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, and their successors were dreaming to add to their conquests the Southern parts of Italy and the whole of Austria, when a complete defeat checked their audacious advance under the walls of Vienna (1683 A.D.). More than two hundred and fifty years earlier, some altercations about the right division of the occupied provinces had begun to have prejudicial results between the two clans, the old and the new, the Mongols and the Turks, and a fratricidal war (1402 A.D.) brought them to a premature exhaustion, the conclusion of which was the consolidation of the actual Empire of Persia. It would not be out of place here to remark that we believe the actual Ottomans never would have been able to settle so firmly round the littoral of the Black Sea, if the Eastern Uighurians, or more accurately, the Tatars, had not inflicted a crushing defeat on the remnants of the ephemeral Empire of the Seljuks (1300). The acceptance of the rich inheritance that the Tatars had left was the only merit of the Osmanli Turks at their beginnings.

The inhabitants of Eastern Uighuria and of Mongolia were some few years before Gengis Khān hardly more civilized than the antediluvian men : "They were dressed in the skins of dogs and wolves ; they ate the flesh of mice and of other unclean animals, and they drank the milk of mares".¹ These primitive habits compared with the interesting legislation promulgated by the famous Gengis, the creator of the Tatarian Empire, will enhance the natural virtues of these "Asiatic Huns".²

"When you have to send a letter or a messenger to some rebels, do not threaten them with the greatness of your numbers or with your fighting force, but only say : 'If you submit, you will find goodness and peace ; and if you rise, we will not be responsible for what will happen ; the Eternal God only knows what will befall you'. In this way your confidence in the Lord will be made manifest, and you will win.

¹ Barhebraeus, "Chron. Syr." edit. Bedjan, pp. 406-7.

² *Ibid.* pp. 410-1.

" You will honour and revere men who are pure, upright, learned and wise in all the nations, and you will despise the wicked and bad people amongst them.

" Do not use towards your kings and princes many titles of honour as other peoples do. The man sitting on the throne should be given only one name : *Khān*, and his brothers and relatives should be called by the name of their birth.

" When you are at peace with your enemies, give yourselves up to hunting, and teach also your children how to hunt beasts. In this way, you will be drilled in warfare, you will acquire endurance, and you will attack your enemies, without fear and pity, as wild beasts.

" If a man dies amongst you without a legitimate heir, all his possessions, and even his wife, should be given to the man who was attending to him. The king should not be given anything."

People brought up under such legislation could not fail to subjugate some decadent nations, worn out by intestine divisions and mutual strife. From the beginning of 617 A.H. to 619 many important places, such as Bukhāra, Samarkand, Khawarazm were successively taken by storm, and some years later, the fall of Baghdād (1258 A.D.) put an end to the Arabo-Persian domination in the South and threatened the Turkish possessions in the North.

These Mongols had no special literature, but they adopted the Uighur language to transmit their orders to the peoples that they had so easily subjugated.¹ By this method the Uighur acquired a wider field of extension than it could otherwise possess. Of the language itself, of the conquerors, not many literary compositions are known to-day, and it is by the language of the conquered nations that their own history is to be sketched in its most striking lines.

Between the old and imperfectly known language of the Kudatku Bilik poem, and the Chaghatai, ancestral-tongue of the Osmanli-Turkish, there is an intermediary language which so far has not been very accurately studied in its general morphological features and in its distinct relations with the two dialects between which it keeps a *juste milieu*. It is well represented by the works of the famous writer Rabghūzi—of which a fourteenth century good MS. is found in the British Museum (Add. 7851) and it has been carefully

¹ Barhebraeus, " Chron. Syr." *ibid.* p. 410.

described by the skilled hand of Dr. Rieu. The edition (1859) of Ilminsky from another MS. belonging to the Imperial Library of Petrograd is not found in the public libraries of this country, and as Dr. Rieu says "is extremely rare, and no copy is accessible for purposes of comparison". About the value of Rabghūzi's work, Dr. Rieu writes (*ibid.* p. 271) :—

"The early date of Rabghūzi's work gives it a great linguistic value. It forms an intermediate link between the old Turki, or so-called Uighur, and the Chaghatai of Mir 'Ali Shir and Bäber. Although written two centuries and a half after the former work, it preserves, with slight phonetic changes, much of its archaic vocabulary. It may be considered in that respect its lineal descendant, and a careful study of its language would throw light on many obscure points, which, in spite of the brilliant decipherment and interpretation of Prof. Vambéry, still remain in the earliest document of the Turkish language."

Happily Rabghūzi is not the only man who can guide us safely in our investigations of the language of nations which played so important a rôle in the history of the world.

A manuscript in the John Rylands Library of Manchester contains the text of the Kurān with a literal translation into this Rabghūzi dialect, distant only a few steps from the Uighuric tongue. This MS. numbered cod. 760-773 consists of fourteen volumes of 355 × 300 mm.

Nearly all the volumes are unfortunately truncated at the beginning and at the end, and all of them have many leaves missing in the middle, whilst the margins of many of the remaining leaves which were injured by worms have in consequence disappeared for ever. But what is most to be regretted is the clumsiness of the last binder who arranged the volumes in the present order. Many leaves which properly belong to the beginning are placed at the end; and several leaves which contain verses of a Sūrah and should have been bound for instance in volume 766, are bound through an incomprehensible blunder in volume 770, etc. The following partial description of volume 772 will give a fair idea of the whole collection :—

XXVIth juz' of the Kurān, from Sūrah XLVI, 1, to Sūrah LI, 30; with illuminated headings. Folio 1a, which is half-torn

away contains in the middle حم نزيل الكعب [ب], at the top الاحفاف and at the bottom وخمس آية. . . Folio 26b, title of Sūrah XLVIII. Folios 51b and 52a, a very large illuminated Sūrah title. Folios 52b and 53a, beginning of Sūrah XLIX called in the MS. لا تقدموا ; the two pages are completely illuminated. Folios 67b and 68a end with Sūrahs XLIX and L respectively, and in both cases with some curved Sūrah titles. In folios 50b and 51a, a blank. Folio 74b, Sūrah L, 60, omitted by the copyist but supplied by him on the margin.

Lacunæ. Folio 1a has only the second half of the title ; one leaf, therefore, which contained the introductory words and سورة الاعنون at the top, and الاعنون at the bottom is lost. Folio 1b ends واجل (XLVI, 1) ; then follows a gap of about sixteen leaves, extending from verses 2-20 (عذاب). The next six leaves containing XLVI, 20-22 and 22-29 are wrongly bound as folios 84 and 79-83 respectively, of the volume 766. Folio 3b, the last two verses of the Sūrah are altogether missing, with the heading of Sūrah XLVII. At the top of the next page there is the following remark : "In the Kūfi, thirty-eight verses".

As the MS. stands to-day, it would have occupied thirty volumes instead of fourteen if there were no lacunæ in it.

The MS. seems to come from a country in which the Arabic was not the language of the people. The last owner of the MS. has preserved his name in his seal found on Folio 19a of volume 765 : "‘Abdul-Bâki son of ‘Ali, the Arab". We suppose that according to the Oriental custom he would not have called himself "the Arab" if he were living in an Arab country.

One of the curious features of this MS. is that the old Turki and the Persian translations do not correspond always with the Arabic text, in spite of the fact that one word is above the other, beginning with the Arabic and ending with the old Turki. If we mistake not, the Persian and the old Turki translations were made several years before the transcription of the Arabic sacred text, and the task of the scribe was in this case simply to transcribe from another MS. a translation already in existence. Two reasons make this view highly probable :—

1. There are Arabic sentences which do not give the same meaning as that of the translation. This fact would be very surpris-

ing, did we suppose that the divergence extends only to some very easy words, such as pronouns, and preformative letters of the Aorist. We know that in early times, and before the invention of the diacritical points in the Arabic language, there were in the Muhammadan world different schools which read, for instance, the word مُتَحَلٌ as *Naktulu*, "we kill," or *Yaktulu*, "he kills," or *Taktulu*, "thou killst". When the context did not condemn one of these readings to death, they were generally admitted by the most rigid commentators; and the *Kutubul-Kira'at* have preserved scores of such words read in a different way. In the MS. with which we are dealing it happens sometimes that when the Arabic text gives "he kills" the translation exhibits "we kill". Let us take an example which is even more amazing than a usual variant of a diacritical point. In volume 760, last line of fol. 1, the Arabic words of Sūrah III, 116 are وَإِنْ تَصْبِهِمْ وَاكْرَنْ كَسَا سَبِّزْ كَا and in old Turki وَاكْرَنْ كَسَا سَبِّزْ كَا and in old Turki مَهَارَا. The Arabic text means "and if it befall them," and the Persian and the old Turki signify "and if it befall you". The old Turki and the Persian translations are therefore made from a copy of the Kurān which exhibited the reading of Flügel's edition, "and if it befall you".

2. In volume 771, folio 68a, the word "God" is omitted in the Arabic text in verse 18 of Sūrah XLV, but it is rendered, in spite of the Arabic omission, into Persian and old Turki. This omission means also that the copyist was transcribing from two different MSS. He has omitted the word in question in one of his transcriptions, but he has inserted it in the two other transcriptions. Here we find a curious coincidence to which we wish to draw attention.

In the book entitled "Leaves from the ancient Qurāns" which was printed some few months ago at the University Press of Cambridge, the word *Allah* which occurs in the above quoted verse of the Kurān has been read الْكَمْ or الْلَّهُ "a blow". I was not quite satisfied with this reading, but the palimpsest which belongs to Dr. Agnes S. Lewis did not permit me to read the word otherwise. The letter ل is distinct and does not seem to suffer the existence of another word, or, at all events, I was not able to find a more suitable word. Everything considered, it appears that the scribe of our present MS. found himself face to face with the same difficulty; having been unable to substitute another good vocable for the one that

he could not decipher, he omitted it entirely. The hypothesis will become more plausible, if we consider the extreme care the copyist has taken, throughout all the volumes, of the word *Allah* on which he has indeed profusely lavished all his skill ; he writes it always in gilt letters, and sometimes he forms its letters in a curiously waving form, resembling a coarse zigzag. In any case such an omission in the text of the *Kurâن* while both translations, the Old Turki and the Persian, are exact, is worthy of the attention of critics.

The note of the scribe referred to above informs us that the Arabic text has been transcribed from an old Kûfîc MS., but the most elementary criterion is deficient as to the provenance of the old Turki version.

On the probable hypothesis that the translation was undertaken several years before the transcription of the Arabic text, the old Turki dialect becomes of an exceptional importance. The Arabic MS. itself goes back to the time of Rabghûzi, or at latest, a few years after him, while the translation is very probably many decades earlier. Our MS. is, therefore, from a linguistic point of view, more valuable than Rabghûzi's apocryphal stories.

A second reason which seems to establish a superiority of our MS. over Rabghûzi's work, is the facility with which it may be used for critical studies or scientific researches. Being simply a literal and interlinear translation of the *Kurâن*, while the Old Turki word is placed immediately under the Persian and the Arabic words explained, it affords a most valuable field of investigation for the student who is by this method enabled to examine more thoroughly the old Chaghatai dialect for purposes of comparison with the Uighur language.

Dr. Rieu (*ibid.* pp. 271-2) has gathered from Rabghûzi's book some stray words that he has compared with those of the Uighur of the Kudatku Bilik poem ; we also will endeavour to compare some of these words with those used in our MS. The character of the Rabghûzian and even pre-Rabghûzian of the language of our MS. and the importance that it deserves will then perhaps appear more striking. As is easily noticed from the following list, the dialect used in our MS. corresponds, with a slight and explicable change of the letter ۋ into ۋ, with the oldest form of the Uighur language. The Chaghatai dialect, ancestor of the actual Turkish, has lost the majority of the under-mentioned words, and in the case of the few which it

has preserved, it has softened to a simple vowel the strong consonants which characterise them. Let us take as our examples three words from the list: the word which means "after" has a ڏ in the dialect of our MS. and a ڻ in Uighur, but both consonants have been simply eliminated in Chaghatai. Likewise the word meaning "foot" is in Chaghatai اداق, and the word meaning "good" ادکو, as in modern Turkish.

A.

Rabghüzi dialect and that used in our MS.

اداق	foot (vol. 763, fol. 60a).
بودون	people (vol. 763, fol. 17b).
تۈرىپىك	to create (vol. 763, fol. 58a).
اپلىق	to send (vol. 771, fol. 47a).
تىكىم	everything (vol. 763, fol. 23b).
كىدىن	after (vol. 763, fol. 12b).
ادکو	good (vol. 771, fol. 105a).
پەدۇچ	prophet (vol. 763, fol. 33b).

B.

Uighur of the Kudatku Bilik.

اداق	
بۇتون	
تۈرىپىك	
اپلىق	
تىكىم	
كىدىن	
الكو	
چەدۇچ	

There are even philological features which seem to establish a morphological ascendancy of the dialect of our MS. over that used by Rabghüzi, ex. gr. the particle of dative-accusative is in our MS. always the letter ڏ followed by a paragogic *Alif*, for instance موسى ڏا to Moses, ابراهيم ڏا to Abraham (vol. 771, fol. 8a); in Rabghüzi this archaic letter is softened sometimes into a ڻ as in Chaghatai, v. gr. نىكربىغا to God.

As a mere curiosity for students not accustomed to peruse an Old Turki MS. we may mention the fact that the word "Arab" or "Arabic" is translated by the word *Târi*, ex. gr. volume 771, folios 3b and 37a, the words قرآن عربىجا an Arabic *Kurân* are translated into Persian قرآن تارىجا and in Old Turki نى تارىجا.

We cannot conclude this study without comparing some grammatical topics of the text of our MS. with the rules given by R. B. Shaw in his work entitled, "A Sketch of the Turki Language" (Lahore, 1875).

1. Against the rules of p. 52 dealing with the case of the "defective auxiliary" verb, cf. the following example (Sûrah, IX, 56):

الدقارل تنكري توتا اولار سيزهز ارمان اولار سيزهز انجاي باردارلار بوزون (Vol. 764, fol. 40b).

2. Against the rules found on p. 8 about the pronouns in general, cf. how the Arabic word *إليه* *to it* (IX. 57) is translated *الكار* (*ibid.* fol. 41a).

3. Against what is said (pp. 72-75) about post-positions and conjunctions, cf. how the Arabic particle meaning *or* is translated twice by *ادو* (*ibid.*).

4. The possessive affix (p. 13) obsolete in the Old Turki, studied by Shaw, is generally maintained in our MS.

On the other hand, there are many lexicographical and grammatical similarities between the dialect exhibited in Shaw's Grammar and that used in our MS. ; but these similarities, so far as our short study of the text permits us to judge, do not seem to exceed in preponderating proportion those which unite all the Tatar dialects, the Chaghatai and the Osmanli, for instance ; and the main interest is precisely to ascertain the number of these similarities and dissimilarities and to know the epoch in which they have been gradually introduced by the general public whose linguistic knowledge was not so brilliant in ancient times as to fix all the disunited elements of words into a more common and stereotyped form of speech.

We could lay more stress on some grammatical peculiarities of this dialect, but we think that this short notice is sufficient to give an adequate idea of the MS. and to stimulate the ardour of Ural-Altaic scholars, who by a careful study of its contents will perhaps be in a position to make substantial additions to the information published from time to time regarding the Turco-Tatar languages.

It should also be pointed out that in certain catalogues mention is made of a *Kurân cum Versione Turcicâ*,¹ but since it is not clearly stated what value we must attribute to this misleading term, we infer that it means simply Osmanli Turkish. At the time when such catalogues were prepared, few scholars were familiar with the Old Turki. These MSS., consisting of a single volume, cannot be compared with the thirty volumes of which our MS. was composed. We cherish the hope that in the near future we shall learn more of the exact nature of these manuscripts.

¹ Cf. Cod. MDCXIII of *Lugd. Batav.* 1866, IV, p. 2; Cod. XLIII of *Mus. Brit.* 1846, p. 38; Cod. 370, Vol. I, p. 140 of *Berlin.*

LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE LOUVAIN.

PAR LÉON VAN DER ESSEN, LITT.D.
PROFESSEUR D'HISTOIRE À L'UNIVERSITÉ DE LOUVAIN.

L'UNIVERSITÉ de Louvain, fondée en 1425, fut privée durant plus de deux siècles, de bibliothèque publique. Durant une période aussi longue, le corps professoral et les étudiants furent astreints à recourir aux "librairies" affectées aux nombreux collèges et établissements religieux. Il est vrai que les facultés universitaires semblent avoir remédié, depuis les premiers temps de l'Université, à cette lacune : elles possédaient chacune leur bibliothèque propre. Ainsi, nous trouvons, dans les actes de l'Université, quelques détails sur la bibliothèque de la faculté des arts. Certaines prescriptions qui s'y rapportent datent de 1466 : il était notamment défendu d'entrer dans cette "librairie" avec de la lumière et d'emporter des livres au dehors.

Quant à la bibliothèque centrale ou publique de l'Université, elle doit son origine à un ancien élève de Louvain, Laurent Beyerlinck, chanoine de la cathédrale d'Anvers. En 1627, celui-ci légua à l'Université sa propre bibliothèque, riche en livres d'histoire et de théologie. Le legs constitua le premier fonds.

Il fut suivi d'un second, fait par le professeur de médecine Jacques Romanus, en 1635. Celui-ci, fils du célèbre mathématicien Romanus, transmit à l'Université la bibliothèque de son père, bien fournie de livres se rapportant aux mathématiques, et y ajouta ses propres livres de médecine.

En ce moment, était recteur le célèbre Corneille Jansenius : ce fut lui qui organisa ce premier noyau de la bibliothèque. Le dépôt de livres fut établi aux halles universitaires—l'ancienne Halle aux Draps, datant de 1317 et qui fut cédée à l'Université en 1432—dans l'auditoire de la faculté de médecine. Jacques Boonen, archevêque de Malines, assigna une somme annuelle pour l'entretien et l'augmenta-

tion de la bibliothèque. La garde des livres fut confiée au professeur Valère André, bibliographe de grande valeur. Le dernier présida, le 22 août 1636, à l'ouverture publique du dépôt et il publia en cette même année un catalogue des 1762 livres légués par Beyerlinck et Romanus.

A la mort de Valère André la bibliothèque fut malheureusement laissée à l'abandon, de 1635 à 1719. En cette dernière année, l'attention fut de nouveau appelée sur elle par un don de Dominique Snellaerts, chanoine d'Anvers († 1720) qui lui légua les 3500 volumes qu'il possédait.

Ce geste généreux nécessita la construction d'un nouveau local. Celle-ci fut entreprise par le recteur Réga, homme de grande initiative, fondateur du musée d'anatomie. Réga parvint aussi à procurer à la bibliothèque des revenus fixes.

Une nouvelle aile fut ajoutée aux vieilles halles, dans la direction du Vieux Marché : les constructions étaient finies en 1730.

Un nouvel élément de progrès fut apporté par l'administration de C. F. de Nelis, qui devint bibliothécaire en 1752. Son premier acte fut d'inviter le gouvernement à imposer aux imprimeurs belges l'obligation d'envoyer au moins un exemplaire de leurs publications à la bibliothèque universitaire. Inutile de dire de combien cette excellente initiative augmenta les trésors déjà accumulés.

Sous l'administration de Jean François Van de Velde (1771-1797), la bibliothèque acquit 12,000 volumes. Les livres furent achetés aux ventes des bibliothèques des Jésuites, après la suppression de la compagnie. En outre, Van de Velde fit entrer 4573 livres nouveaux.

En 1795, sous le régime français, les commissaires de la République enlevèrent environ 5000 volumes, parmi lesquels les manuscrits les plus précieux. En 1797, De la Serna Santander obtint l'autorisation de faire un choix de tous les ouvrages qui, d'après son estimation, pouvaient être utiles au dépôt de l'école centrale établie à Bruxelles. Après un triage qui dura dix jours le commissaire français emporta 718 volumes. Ou ne les a jamais restitués.

Par décret impérial de Napoléon, en date du 12 décembre 1805, la bibliothèque de l'Université de Louvain devint la propriété de la ville. Cependant, en 1835, lors du rétablissement de l'Université à Louvain, l'administration communale remit le précieux dépôt à la disposition de *l'Alma Mater*.

Il est très difficile d'estimer le nombre de volumes que contenait la bibliothèque avant l'incendie. Je ne puis produire d'estimation personnelle, mais l'annuaire "Minerva" et "l'Annuaire des bibliothèques de Belgique" par Collard donnent le chiffre de 230,000, estimation qui doit être plutôt inférieure au nombre réel de livres. Sous la direction du professeur Delannoy, on était actuellement occupé à réviser le catalogue, déjà ancien et défectueux. En inventoriant d'une manière systématique la section de théologie, on découvrait presque quotidiennement des trésors inconnus, qui avaient dormi depuis deux siècles sous une couche de poussière. Les premières publications des premiers réformateurs et les pamphlets politico-religieux étaient particulièrement nombreux. La bibliothèque possédait aussi une magnifique collection de plus de 350 incunables et, au cours de l'inventaire actuellement en cours, on en découvrait tous les jours de nouveau dans les endroits les plus insoupçonnés.

Tout aussi précieux que la collection des incunables était un ensemble unique de *Jésuitica*, publications émanant de ou relatives aux Jésuites tant des Pays-Bas que des diverses contrées de l'Europe. Elles provenaient des achats faits à la fin du XVIII^e siècle par Jean-François Van de Velde. Il en existait un catalogue soigneusement dressé. De plus, une collection de *Jansenistica*, ou publications relatives au jansénisme doit ici être mise hors de pair. Le rôle joué par l'Université de Louvain dans l'histoire du jansénisme explique suffisamment et l'importance et le caractère complet de cette collection.

Enfin, on avait découvert tout récemment une collection de pamphlets politiques de l'époque de la Guerre de Trente Ans et de l'invasion française en Belgique du temps de Louis XIV : l'expérience m'a appris qu'il y avait là plusieurs exemplaires uniques de la littérature polémique du XVII^e siècle, et notamment des traités du genre du *Mars Gallicus* de Jansénius.

La collection des manuscrits de la bibliothèque contenait aussi des trésors : elle comptait plus de 950 manuscrits. Il y avait là plusieurs manuscrits du XII^e siècle, montrant des exemples typiques de la belle écriture post-caroline, des vies de Saints—dont le texte fut, heureusement, publié—des psautiers, des livres d'heures et des manuels liturgiques du XIII^e, XIV^e, et XV^e siècle. Plusieurs de ces codices contenaient de magnifiques enluminures et des miniatures.

en pleine page. La partie la plus importante peut-être des manuscrits était constituée par une partie des anciennes archives de l'Université.

Ces archives de l'Université de Louvain ont eu une histoire mouvementée. Déjà en 1445 l'Université prend des mesures adéquates pour la conservation de ces archives : une amende frappait ceux qui détenaient chez eux des lettres adressées au *studium*. Pour pouvoir consulter ces documents, il fallait une permission spéciale de l'autorité et la présence de témoins délégués par elle. Dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle, les documents concernant l'*Alma Mater* sont nombreux et conservés avec soin aux halles universitaires. Les catalogues qui en furent alors dressés nous sont parvenus en partie. Lors de l'invasion française en 1794, Jean-François Van de Velde réussit à soustraire une partie de ces archives à la confiscation ordonnée par les commissaires de la République. La partie des archives confisquée par les Français se trouve maintenant aux archives générales du royaume à Bruxelles. Celle que Van de Velde réussit à sauver en 1794-1795 revint plus tard à Louvain et forma, avec des acquisitions faites depuis lors en diverses mortuaires, une bonne partie de la collection des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Louvain. On y trouvait notamment plusieurs listes d'immatriculation, une partie des actes de la faculté des arts et de celle de médecine, une collection de certificats délivrés à des étudiants qui s'illustrèrent plus tard dans la science, des actes de procès soutenus par l'Université à propos de nominations aux bénéfices, un nombre considérable de pièces se rapportant aux priviléges de l'Université, enfin plusieurs manuscrits de cours et d'ouvrages rédigés par des professeurs célèbres de l'ancienne *Alma Mater*. Récemment, j'avais moi-même retrouvé une partie des papiers de Jean-François Van de Velde, dernier président du Collège du Saint-Esprit, et ces documents jetaient une lumière nouvelle sur l'histoire de l'Université à l'époque de la révolution française. Enfin, tous les visiteurs de la bibliothèque connaissaient le fameux manuscrit olographe de Thomas à Kempis, et l'exemplaire sur vélin du fameux ouvrage d'André Vésale "De humani corporis fabrica" qui fut offert à la bibliothèque par Charles Quint lui-même. En 1909, lorsque l'Université fêta le soixante-quinzième anniversaire de sa réorganisation, l'évêque de Bois-le-Duc avait gracieusement remis à l'Université la bulle de fondation originale,

délivrée par le pape Martin V en 1425, et qui était conservée depuis l'époque de Napoléon au grand Séminaire de Haren (Brabant Septentrional). N'oublions pas de signaler ici que l'unique manuscrit d'un *concerto* composé par le grand pianiste De Greef, professeur au conservatoire royal de Bruxelles, se trouvait déposé aussi à la bibliothèque de Louvain.

En dehors des livres et des manuscrits, la bibliothèque de l'Université de Louvain possédait encore d'autres trésors. Dans la belle salle réservée aux livres d'histoire, se trouvaient diverses armoires contenant des *curiosa*, des raretés et des souvenirs de l'Université. On y voyait notamment une collection sigillographique intéressante, une collection numismatique de très grande valeur pour l'histoire de l'Université, un ensemble assez complet d'anciennes reliures en cuir, des mappemondes et des globes géographiques de l'époque de Mercator, un exemplaire de la reproduction du fameux *Breviarium Grimani*. Enfin, l'on y conservait aussi une collection de signatures autographes d'illustres visiteurs de la bibliothèque : on y trouvait des noms comme ceux de Victor Hugo et d'autres princes de la littérature.

Dans la salle de lecture réservée au public se trouvait un véritable musée historique, constitué par les portraits contemporains des plus illustres professeurs de l'Université, du plus grand intérêt pour l'histoire des Pays-Bas. On y voyait des portraits du grand humaniste Juste-Lipse, d'Erasme, d'Ericius Guteanus, de Jansenius, de Vésale. Dans la salle de lecture, débouchait l'accès à la salle des promotiona. C'est dans cette salle que, depuis 1834, l'on conférait les doctorats solennels et que les réunions académiques avaient lieu avec toute la splendeur des temps anciens.

Les salles réservées à la bibliothèque formaient l'étage de l'ancienne Halle aux Draps. Au rez-de-chaussée, l'on avait installé, de temps immémorial, les auditores de théologie et de droit. Mais, depuis deux ans, ces auditores avaient été transportés au nouvel institut de Spoelbergh. Dès lors, toutes les salles du rez-de-chaussée des halles furent destinées à la bibliothèque. En restaurant ces salles, on découvrit, en dessous de la couche de plâtre qui les recouvrait depuis le XVII^e siècle, d'anciennes sculptures et des colonnes appartenant aux halles primitives de 1317. Dans l'une de ces salles, connue comme la place de réunion du sénat académique, se trouvait un magnifique portrait contemporain du pape Adrien VI, ancien professeur de

Louvain et fondateur du Collège du Pape. Ce portrait a été reproduit dans l'ouvrage récemment publié à Rome par le comte Pasolini sous le titre *Adriano VI.*

Depuis le moment où, le 26 avril 1914, la bibliothèque s'effondra dans le brasier allumé dans l'ancienne halle, ces manuscrits, ces livres, ces tableaux, ces collections ont péri ou disparu. En quelques heures les soldats allemands ont brutalement anéanti ces trésors qui n'étaient pas seulement le patrimoine de Louvain et de la Belgique, mais de tout l'univers civilisé. Ce qu'on trouve maintenant dans les rues adjacentes à la bibliothèque et parmi tous les débris et les ruines au-dessus desquels l'on peut difficilement grimper, ce ne sont que des feuillets de livres et de manuscrits, à demi consumés par le feu. Des halles, qui comprenaient la salle des promotions, la bibliothèque, le local où l'on gardait les toges des professeurs, les salles de réunion des facultés, le cabinet du recteur, le bureau du vice-recteur et celui de l'archiviste, il ne reste plus que des colonnes solitaires et noircies par le feu, des amas de pierres et de briques, des poutres à moitié consumées, des murs et des pans de murs, branlants et menaçant de s'abattre.

Les Vandales qui ont commis ce forfait n'ont pas compris la leçon léguée par les siècles et qui s'étalait en inscription sur les murs du vieux bâtiment : *Sapientia ædificavit sibi domum.*

Il sera peut-être intéressant de communiquer, en terminant, le fait que j'ai pu sauver, en quittant Louvain, et cela par suite du hasard, le manuscrit 906. Je l'avais chez moi en consultation : il contient la correspondance officielle de l'université depuis 1583 jusque 1637 environ. C'est peut-être là tout ce qui reste en ce moment des magnifiques trésors de la bibliothèque de l'Université de Louvain.¹

¹ Dans certains journaux, et notamment dans des journaux de Chicago, l'on a prétendu que les Allemands ont fait des efforts pour sauver la bibliothèque pendant l'incendie de Louvain. J'oppose à cette affirmation le démenti le plus catégorique.

STEPS TOWARDS THE RECONSTITUTION OF THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

AT a meeting of the Council of the John Rylands Library, held in the early part of December last, the Governors resolved to give some practical expression to their deep feelings of sympathy with the authorities of the University of Louvain, in the irreparable loss which they have suffered, through the barbarous destruction of the University buildings and the famous library.

It was further decided that this expression of sympathy should take the form of a gift of books to be selected by the librarian from the stock of duplicates in the possession of the library, which have gradually accumulated through the purchase *en bloc*, from time to time, of large and special collections. The latter almost inevitably contain a certain proportion of works of which copies are already to be found upon the library shelves. Together with such duplicates it was agreed to present a set of the printed catalogues and other publications issued by this institution.

A list of the works forming the first instalment of the proposed gift, and numbering upwards of two hundred volumes, was drawn up to accompany this offer, when it was made to the authorities of the University, through the medium of Professor Dr. A. Carnoy, and it was a source of intense gratification to the Governors to learn that "these volumes"—to quote Professor Carnoy's own words—"will actually be amongst the very first ones which have been effectually given to the future University Library in Louvain. Your donation will have an important place in the reconstitution of our University, since it is one of the very first acts which tend to the preparation of our revival."

As the University is at present dismembered and without a home, we have undertaken, at the request of the Louvain authorities, to house the volumes, which thus form the nucleus of the new library, until such time as the new buildings are ready to receive them.

Since these preliminary steps were taken, it has occurred to the

writer that there must be many other libraries and similar institutions, as well as private individuals, who would welcome the opportunity of sharing in this expression of practical sympathy, by taking part in the proposed reconstruction of the devastated library.

We gladly undertake, therefore, to receive and to be responsible for the custody of any suitable works which may be entrusted to us for this purpose.

We propose to institute a careful register of the names and addresses of the donors of such works, together with an exact record of their gifts, for presentation with the library, to serve as a permanent record of this modest attempt to demonstrate to the people of Belgium our grateful and heart-felt appreciation of the heroic sacrifices which they have made in their honourable determination to remain true to their pledges of neutrality.

It may be said that until a collection of books has been carefully classified and catalogued it is little better than a mob of books, and is of as little real service as a body devoid of the vitalizing power with which the breath of life endows it. Therefore it has been decided to give to this collection, whatever dimensions it may assume, the dignity of a live library, by classifying it according to the Brussels Extension of the Dewey Decimal Classification, and also by furnishing it with a carefully compiled catalogue, so that when the time comes for its transference to its new home, it may be placed upon the shelves prepared for its reception and be ready forthwith for use.

A careful perusal of Professor Van der Essen's interesting article, which accompanies this appeal, will enable readers to form an accurate idea of the nature of the former contents of the library, whose loss we so sorely deplore; and will afford them some guidance as to the character of the works required for the rehabilitation of the library on lines similar to those along which it has been consistently developed since its original foundation.

In order to prevent a needless duplication of gifts the writer would regard it as a favour if those who decide to respond to this appeal would, in the first instance, send to him a list of the works which they propose to present, so that the register may be examined with a view of ascertaining whether any of the titles already figure therein.

The names of the donors, with a description of their gifts, will be published quarter by quarter in the pages of the **BULLETIN**.

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The list of works forming the library's first contribution towards the new library is given below.

ACCADEMIA della Crusca. *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca. Quarta impressione . . . Firenze, 1729-38.* 6 vols. Fol.

AFFÒ (Ireneo) *Memorie degli scrittori e letterati parmigiani. Raccolte dal . . . I. Affò . . . Parma, 1789-1833.* 7 vols. in 9. 4to.

ALGER (William Rounseville) *A critical history of the doctrine of a future life. With a . . . bibliography of the subject. Philadelphia, 1864.* 8vo, pp. x, 914.

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020 LIBRARY ECONOMY.	520 ASTRONOMY.
030 GENERAL CYCLOPEDIAS.	530 PHYSICS.
040 GENERAL COLLECTIONS.	540 CHEMISTRY.
050 GENERAL PERIODICALS.	550 GEOLOGY.
060 GENERAL SOCIETIES.	560 PALEONTOLOGY.
070 NEWSPAPERS.	570 BIOLOGY.
080 SPECIAL LIBRARIES. POLYGRAPHY.	580 BOTANY.
090 BOOK RARITIES.	590 ZOOLOGY.
100 Philosophy.	600 Useful Arts.
110 METAPHYSICS.	610 MEDICINE.
120 SPECIAL METAPHYSICAL TOPICS.	620 ENGINEERING.
130 MIND AND BODY.	630 AGRICULTURE.
140 PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEMS.	640 DOMESTIC ECONOMY.
150 MENTAL FACULTIES. PSYCHOLOGY.	650 COMMUNICATION AND COMMERCE.
160 LOGIC.	660 CHEMICAL TECHNOLOGY.
170 ETHICS.	670 MANUFACTURES.
180 ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS.	680 MECHANIC TRADES.
190 MODERN PHILOSOPHERS.	690 BUILDING.
200 Religion.	700 Fine Arts.
210 NATURAL THEOLOGY.	710 LANDSCAPE GARDENING.
220 BIBLE.	720 ARCHITECTURE.
230 DOCTRINAL THEOL. DOGMATICS.	730 SCULPTURE.
240 DEVOTIONAL AND PRACTICAL.	740 DRAWING, DESIGN, DECORATION.
250 HOMILETIC. PASTORAL. PAROCHIAL.	750 PAINTING.
260 CHURCH. INSTITUTIONS. WORK.	760 ENGRAVING.
270 RELIGIOUS HISTORY.	770 PHOTOGRAPHY.
280 CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND SECTS.	780 MUSIC.
290 NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS.	790 AMUSEMENTS.
300 Sociology.	800 Literature.
310 STATISTICS.	810 AMERICAN.
320 POLITICAL SCIENCE.	820 ENGLISH.
330 POLITICAL ECONOMY.	830 GERMAN.
340 LAW.	840 FRENCH.
350 ADMINISTRATION.	850 ITALIAN.
360 ASSOCIATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS.	860 SPANISH.
370 EDUCATION.	870 LATIN.
380 COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATION.	880 GREEK.
390 CUSTOMS. COSTUMES. FOLK-LORE.	890 MINOR LANGUAGES.
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* * There is also an engraved title-page, dated 1677.

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BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY MANCHESTER

VOL. 2
No. 3
JULY TO
SEPTEMBER
1915

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وَهُنَّ حِينَ خَرَجُوا فَلَمْ يَجِدُوا شَرَرَ

السَّجِيدَ الْحَرَامَ

وَلَمْ يَأْتِ الْحَقُّ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَمَا يَحَاوِفُهُمْ أَهْمَانَ تَحْلُوُهُنَّ
وَمِنْ حِينَ خَرَجُوا فَلَمْ يَجِدُوا شَرَرَ السَّجِيدِ
الْحَرَامِ وَحِينَ مَالَنَّمُ وَلَمْ يَجِدُوا شَرَرَ شَظْرَةَ
لِيَكَارِيَوْنَ تَلَاقَتِ النَّاسُ عَلَيْهِمْ جُهَّةُ كُلِّ الْأَذْيَنِ كَلَّذِنَ
مِنْهُمْ فَلَا تَخْشُوْهُمْ وَاحْتَنَفُوهُنَّ وَلَا تَرْهَبُهُنَّ
عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا عَلَيْهِمْ تَهْتَدُ فَتَلَامِسُ الْأَسْكَانَ فِيمُمْ
مَرْسُوْلًا مَنْلَهُ يَتَلَاقَ عَلَيْهِمْ إِنَّمَا مَنْلَهُ لِيَكَارِيَوْنَ
يَعْلَمُ الْأَيَّابُ وَالْأَحْمَاءُ وَيَعْلَمُ كُلُّ أَوْنَانِ
تَعْلَمُونَ فَادْرُونَيْنَ أَذْلَّمُ وَأَشَرُّ فِيَنَ

وَلَمْ

KORAN, II. 144-147 (XVITH CENT.)

BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY MANCHESTER

VOL. 2

JULY-SEPTEMBER, 1915

No. 3

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

THE response to the appeal on behalf of the Library of the University of Louvain, which we made in our last issue, has been most encouraging, revealing as it does how deep and widespread is the desire to assist in any effort which has for its object the restoration, at least in some measure, of the resources of the crippled university, and of its equipment and organization for teaching and study.

Already upwards of three thousand volumes have been either received or definitely promised, and we have pleasure, elsewhere in the present issue, in recording the names of the donors, together with the description of the gifts which had actually reached us, at the end of June.

It may be said, therefore, that the foundations of the new library have actually been laid, but we must see to it that the superstructure is a monument worthy of the incomparable bravery displayed by our noble ally in her fearless if ineffectual resistance to the overwhelming hordes of barbarians which were hurled against her and which it is intended to signalize.

We are glad to hear that an International Committee is in process of formation, with a view to co-ordinate the many efforts that are being employed in this country, and also on the continent, to assist in bringing about the restoration of the devastated library. Under the direction and influence of such a committee, the success of the scheme is more than assured.

The following syllabus of lectures has been arranged for the ensuing session. It should be noticed that the first lecture will be given towards the end of September, and not on the second Wednesday of October as is usually the case :—

THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY
EVENING LECTURES (7.30 p.m.)

Wednesday, 29th September, 1915. "The most Recent Discoveries in Crete." (Illustrated with Lantern Pictures.) By Ronald M. Burrows, D.Litt., Principal of King's College, London.

Wednesday, 10th November, 1915. "Armageddon: a Study of the 'Revelation of S. John the Divine'." By Arthur S. Peake, M.A., D.D., Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the Victoria University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 15th December, 1915. "The English Civil Service in the 14th Century." By T. F. Tout, M.A., F.B.A., Bishop Fraser Professor of Mediæval and Ecclesiastical History in the Victoria University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th January, 1916. "The Modern View of Warren Hastings." By J. Ramsay B. Muir, M.A., Professor of Modern History in the Victoria University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 9th February, 1916. "The Influence of the Egyptian Practice of Mummification on the History of Civilization." (Illustrated with Lantern Pictures.) By G. Elliott Smith, M.A., M.D., F.R.S., Professor of Anatomy in the Victoria University of Manchester.

The following three lectures have been arranged in commemoration of the Tercentenary of the Death of Shakespeare:—

Wednesday, 19th April, 1916. "The Globe Playhouse." (Illustrated with Lantern Pictures.) By William Poel, Founder and Director of the Elizabethan Stage Society.

Wednesday, 26th April, 1916. "Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist: Illustrated by the 'Merchant of Venice'." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation in the University of Chicago.

Friday, 28th April, 1916. "Shakespeare as a Dramatic Thinker: Illustrated by 'Romeo and Juliet'." By Richard G. Moulton, M.A., Ph.D.

AFTERNOON LECTURES (3 p.m.).

Tuesday, 12th October, 1915. "The Origin of the Cult of Apollo." By J. Rendel Harris, M.A., Litt.D., LL.D., Director of Studies at the Woodbrooke Settlement, Birmingham.

Tuesday, 4th January, 1916. "National and International Ideals in the English Poets." By C. H. Herford, M.A., Litt.D., Professor of English Literature and Language in the Victoria University of Manchester.

It will be noticed that we have made special provision for the commemoration of the Tercentenary of the Death of Shakespeare, the actual date of which falls upon Easter Sunday (23rd April). Many of our readers will welcome the opportunity of listening to such an authority upon Shakespeare's Theatre as Mr. William Poel, and we take this opportunity of thanking him for so readily consenting to make a special journey from London for the purpose. Professor Richard Moulton's lectures are in many ways unique, and need no words of recommendation. They are looked forward to with eager anticipation from year to year by the regular members of our audience, and we would suggest to them that they should be early in their places next April, if they do not wish to suffer disappointment.

TERCEN-
TENARY
OF
SHAKES-
PEARE'S
DEATH.

In connection with this commemoration it has been decided to arrange an exhibition in the library of the works of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries, in which we shall make a point of calling attention to some of the books which influenced Shakespeare. We shall endeavour to find time to prepare a small descriptive and illustrated catalogue of the exhibition, for sale at a few pence.

We print some further notes from the pen of Dr. Mingana upon several manuscripts of outstanding importance amongst our collection of Arabic texts of, and writers upon, the KURĀNIC MANU-SCRIPTS. Kurān. One of the texts appears to furnish evidence of the need for a textual criticism of the book.

The Eighty-Fifth Meeting of the British Association is to be held in Manchester commencing on Tuesday, 7th September, and ending on Saturday, 11th September. The BRITISH ASSOCIA-
customary duration of the meeting will be thus shortened, MAN-
in consequence of the war. The ordinary excursions will CHESTER.
be abandoned, and the evening entertainments will be given up. In order, however, to give the members an opportunity of meeting each other the City Council have invited the Association to visit the School of Technology on the evening of Wednesday, 8th September, when the buildings, machinery, and equipment will be shown. On

the occasion of the last meeting of the Association held in Manchester, in 1887, the John Rylands Library was not yet even contemplated. It has been felt therefore that there are likely to be many of the members visiting Manchester next month, who would welcome an opportunity of inspecting the library and such of the special treasures as may be placed on exhibition for the purpose. To this end the Governors are issuing invitations to about three hundred and fifty members to meet them at the library on the afternoon of Thursday, 9th September at 4 o'clock.

Since the publication of our last issue, a large number of interesting manuscripts have been acquired for the library. Unfortunately the demands upon our space are such as to preclude anything but the briefest possible reference to them. We must therefore reserve the fuller description for a subsequent occasion. On the Oriental side there are nearly a hundred Pali and other manuscripts on palm leaf, metallic lacquer, or paper, including a number of rare and unpublished texts, together with a small group of unknown works in Bali character, from the Bali Island, beyond Java. These were acquired through the instrumentality of Professor Rhys Davids, and are the fruits of upwards of thirty years' assiduous collecting by a scholar, who was in constant intercourse with other scholars in various parts of the East who alone could have assisted him in getting together such a remarkable collection.

MANU-
SCRIPT
ADDI-
TIONS TO
THE LIB-
RARY.

Of Syriac manuscripts there are thirty consisting of Biblical, patristic, and liturgical works, several of which are of great rarity and importance, acquired through the generous help of Dr. Rendel Harris. Of Western, or Latin and English manuscripts a collection of eighty volumes of records have been acquired, of which the outstanding item is a volume of the 15th century Cartulary of Fountains' Abbey, which has been lost sight of for some time, and apparently was unknown to Dodsworth, Dugdale, and the later editors of the "Monasticon". Two volumes of the Cartulary are in the British Museum, and a third is in the possession of Lord Ripon. The present volume is in a perfect state of preservation. It contains nearly 500 folios of vellum, and still retains its interesting 15th century stamped binding. The other volumes in the collection consist, for the most part, of 17th century transcripts of State Papers such as : Close Rolls, Patent Rolls, Rolls of Parliament, Inquisitions post mortem,

Pleas of the Crown, etc., but include a number of very interesting original documents which may prove to be of considerable historical importance, such as Court Rolls, an Ancient Rent Roll of Oswestry, a Book of Offices under the Crown, 1613, the Statutes of Savoy Hospital, etc., etc.

We have found it impossible to redeem our promise to print the portion of the list of the most important of the recent ^{LIST OF} ~~acces-~~ ^{ACCES-} ~~sions~~ to the library which remained over from the last ^{sions} issue. We have had to reserve a final section, dealing exclusively with the additions to the department of History, with the promised index to authors, for publication in the October issue.

The present issue contains an elaborated text of the interesting and suggestive lecture on "The Youth of Vergil," delivered ^{"THE} ~~YOUTH~~ ^{OF} ~~VERGIL~~ by Prof. Conway at the library, to a large and appreciative audience, on the 9th December, 1914.

A limited number of reprints of this lecture, in separate form, have been issued, and may be purchased of the usual agents for sixpence.

Readers will be glad to learn that our next issue will include an expansion of the lecture entitled "A Mediaeval Burglary," ^{OUR} ~~NEXT~~ ^{ISSUE} which was delivered by Prof. Tout in January last. The text will be illustrated by three facsimiles. Of this lecture also a limited number of reprints will be obtainable at the price of sixpence. Those of our readers who were privileged to hear Prof. Tout on the last occasion, will welcome the announcement of a further lecture by him during the ensuing session.

THE YOUTH OF VERGIL.¹

BY R. S. CONWAY, LITT.D.

HULME PROFESSOR OF LATIN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF
MANCHESTER.

IN other lectures delivered in this Library an attempt has been made to consider, in the light of the events of Vergil's time, the view which the poet gives us of different sides of human experience, such as the relation of Man to Nature, or the conception of an ideal sovereign. Our inquiry was then based upon what he wrote at the time of his fullest power; the *Georgics* having been begun probably in his thirty-fourth year, and published in his forty-first, and the *Aeneid* having been left unfinished at his death ten years later.

The object of the present lecture is a more difficult, and, in seeming, perhaps a less fruitful endeavour, to frame, if we can, some picture of the development of Vergil's thought before he set himself to any national task. For this is the great difference between the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* on the one side, and almost all the poet's work that preceded them on the other. Both the two great poems have national, or more than national scope. All those which precede them—if we except the IV and V Eclogues, exceptions which we shall see really prove the rule because they mark a transition—are in a sense private performances. Yet just for this very reason the poems of this date have an interest of their own, just because in them Vergil had that greater freedom which belongs to an artist not yet widely known. Youth has its privileges of free experiment, of moods shifting between daring invention and gentle, playful loitering in old ways, between fervent outpouring, where the new spirit breaks into vehement almost violent utterance, and studies modelled humbly upon the work

¹ A Lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on December 9, 1914. In printing it I am deeply indebted to the kind and searching criticism of my friend Prof. W. B. Anderson.

of others, where the poet's chief ambition is to represent in a new material the work of some older master. Such a period is difficult to study, because one is apt to judge the work of early years by the work of the artist's maturity, and hence to think little of passages admirable enough in themselves, because they fall short of what came later. Another difficulty must be faced in the case of a poet who, like Vergil or Shakespeare, so far outshone in the end every one of his contemporaries that the student finds it difficult to believe that his early work may have been deeply indebted to the encouragement and example of some of the very writers whose fame was destined to be completely eclipsed by his.

Vergil in his youth was one of a group of writers full of poetic ambitions ; Varius, Cinna, Varus, Tucca, Pollio, and Vergil's own bosom-friend Gallus, to mention no others, were all writers of verse ; but the economy of the centuries has swept away every trace of the big or little books of all these poets, except that from Gallus one interesting poem has been preserved, because it had come to be bound up with some of the early writings of his greater friend. In this case, therefore, we have, as we shall see, a basis for comparing Vergil's work with that of one of his contemporaries ; but the rest is silence. We know nothing of the authors of the other non-Vergilian poems bound up with some genuine ones in what is called the *Appendix Vergiliana*.¹ Nor do we even know (I wish we did) the people whom Vergil has represented in some of his earlier poems as conversing or competing with himself. If we did, we should begin to understand the *Eclogues* ; and if we only understood them, they would be among the parts of Vergil's work read with the keenest interest.

That brilliant scholar Prof. Franz Skutsch of Breslau, who died two years ago, had lived long enough to open an entirely new path for study by explaining for the first time the meaning of two of the most difficult of the Eclogues, VI and X, and indeed VIII as well. He showed² that as continuous poems they had practically no meaning at all, just as much and as little as the bibliography of a poet in a catalogue. For centuries scholars and schoolmasters have been

¹ In what follows I have generally accepted Ellis' text.

² In the volumes entitled, "Aus Vergil's Frühzeit," Leipzig, 1901 and 1905.

hammering away in the desperate effort to discover a story where there is only a series of subjects of stories, and a romance in what is only a description of the plots of many romances ; and the unfortunate schoolboy, fed upon such husks, naturally deemed the author of the stuff that needed the incredible explanations offered to him a creature past finding out and certainly not worth finding. Well, we may hope that no more schoolboys will be tormented with the effort to discover in Eclogues VI and X anything but friendly metrical catalogues of the different poems which Gallus had written. But the rather sorry story of the study of these two poems must warn us against assuming that the other Eclogues are intelligible with no better means of interpretation than we at present possess. In the first Eclogue, for example, what scholar has or ever had the remotest credible notion who Amaryllis was, or who Galatea, or why Tityrus should be represented as having been set free from slavery after he became the possession of Amaryllis instead of Galatea, or what kind of possession of him was ever claimed by these ladies, if they were creatures of flesh and blood at all. Here we have an example of a well-known passage of three lines¹ which is totally unintelligible ; but which has been interpreted and translated with sublime stupidity for some nineteen centuries by people who would not confess their ignorance.

We have strayed, perhaps, rather far from the purpose immediately before us, that of defining the period of Vergil's poetic life which we are now to consider ; but perhaps the digression is not wholly irrelevant. It will at least show that the work that Vergil published before he was thirty needs a good deal of study, and it will also serve to explain why this lecture will invite attention especially to the earlier, indeed the boyish work of the poet, written between his sixteenth and his twenty-fourth years. If we can view this in its proper perspective, it may tell us something of the growth of that wonderful boy's spirit. But we must proceed with caution, because in the bundle of poems in which this juvenile work of Vergil is included, there are a certain number which it is quite certain cannot possibly have been written by Vergil himself. Examples are the poem addressed to Messala, the leader of a coterie which was in

¹ *Ecl.* I. 31-3.

some ways the rival of that of Mæcenas ; and the lament for Mæcenas, called by his name and written after his death and therefore long after Vergil's, by some young writer who tells us frankly that he could not claim to be called a friend of the great patron. In these circumstances the rule that must guide us is to disregard for the purpose of any serious argument all the poems except those which fulfil two conditions ; they must bear some distinctive trace of Vergil's manner, and they must contain no passage which for any clear reason it is difficult to attribute to him. These tests still leave us, I think, some four or five poems which we may confidently attribute to Vergil, notably the *Culex*, which we will shortly consider ; the *Moretum*, or "Farmer's Salad," a curiously interesting genre picture of rustic life ;¹ three charming little epigrams on Priapus, the god of gardens ; and two not less charming autobiographical poems, which if they were not written by Vergil were certainly written by some poet trained in precisely the same style and breathing the same gentle spirit. Of those about which doubt is possible, the picture of the tavern-hostess, known as the *Copa*, is the most important, and the internal evidence² for its Vergilian authorship, I confess, seems to me rather difficult to disregard.

Beyond and after these stands the delightful poem of the transition, the climax to which Vergil's earliest poetic ambitions brought him, only to disclose that even so he had barely realized his power. This was, of course, the IV Eclogue,³ which partly by accident but more by nature blossomed into a peculiar sanctity and lent to its author the title and influence of an inspired Christian teacher.⁴ Some of the chief features of the poetry of this Eclogue we shall be able, I think, to trace in course of growth ; and we shall recognize that that wonder-

¹ Mr. J. W. Mackail writes of this (*Class. Rev.* XXII. (1908), p. 72) : "The internal evidence for the Vergilian authorship is so good that it would require but little external support".

² See below, p. 26.

³ This dates from 40 B.C. The Fifth was written some two years sooner, probably at the celebration of Julius Cæsar's memory on his birthday in July, 42. The mourning of Rome for his assassination is represented by the sorrow of the rivers and the forests for the fair shepherd Daphnis. Did ever a young poet approach a grave theme by steps more shy ?

⁴ See *The Messianic Eclogue of Vergil* (Mayo, Fowler & Conway : published by John Murray, 1907).

ful poem is not an isolated curiosity, but like the flower which follows a morning of spring sunshine upon a bank of violets in bud.

Let us take, as a kind of background to our view, the poem already mentioned, once attributed to Vergil but now clearly shown to be the work of his friend Gallus. This miniature epic, called the *Ciris*, which contains some 540 lines, is dedicated to Messala, and tells the story of Scylla of Megara. This lady, as the poet points out in thirty or forty lines, is to be carefully distinguished from the more famous Scylla who was the neighbour of the whirlpool Charybdis and whose gentle way it was to lie in wait in the cliffs of Sicily to prey upon sailors as they passed. This, the Homeric Scylla, is of course only some old-world sailor's picture of a tropical cuttle-fish : but the Scylla who is the subject of the *Ciris* was the daughter of Nisus, the King of Megara, on whom Minos, King of Crete, was making war. Now this Nisus held his throne by a tenure which a modern monarch would think peculiar, but which is familiar to us in the folklore of many lands. He had a rose-coloured lock of hair in the middle of his head, and so long as this remained uncut, his kingdom also was destined to remain safe. Unluckily for him, his only daughter Scylla fell in love with the invader, King Minos, though how she came to set eyes upon him the poem does not tell us, beyond the fact that Scylla had somehow offended Juno and that Juno sent Cupid to kindle in her a passion for Minos. Contrast this with the First Book of the *Aeneid* and remember the perfectly natural and credible way in which the growth of the passion of Dido for the stranger king Æneas is traced. But in Gallus' poem, however Scylla's love began, she becomes at once its hopeless victim ; she wanders, or rushes, through the city like a bacchante or a priestess of Cybele, not stopping—so we are told—either to perfume her hair or put on slippers or necklace, but continually making excuses to go to the walls to watch the Cretan army, of which Minos is in command. She cannot spin or weave or play the psaltery ; her cheeks lose all their colour, and she is sure that her despair will kill her. 'She sees rotten-little death creeping over her flesh,' so the poet describes¹ her condition. But she at once thinks of the expedient of cutting off the fatal lock from

¹ *Tabidulamque videt labi per uiscera mortem* (l. 182). The diminutive adjective is perhaps less absurd in Latin than in the nearest rendering possible in English, but it is every whit as undignified.

her father's head and sending it to Minos as a means both of introducing herself to him and of securing his affection. Here the poet inserts¹ a few lines of prudent but (where they stand) rather prosaic digression, suggesting that perhaps after all she was ignorant of the fatal effect that the cutting of this lock would have upon her father's fortunes ; but he does not stay to consider why, if she did not know this, it should ever have occurred to her to send such a curious present to the prince whom she wished to attract as a suitor. Young ladies are not wont to send locks of their father's hair to strangers as tokens of their affection, so far as my experience goes. Without solving this difficulty the poet proceeds, in fifteen lines, to prophesy the ultimate fate of Nisus and Scylla, viz. to be changed into birds. And by way, we may suppose, of relief to this somewhat lugubrious prospect, he calls upon all the creatures of the air who ride upon the clouds or traverse the sea and the forests—the lines are undeniably pretty—to 'rejoice that their number is to be increased by this royal pair,' Nisus and Scylla, for they will augment the number of princely kinsmen and creatures of their own rank who have been turned from human beings into birds, of whom particular specimens are mentioned. Why the birds, whether originally human or not, should be so pleased about the new arrivals, does not appear ; but apparently there was no doubt about it in the poet's mind, because he repeats the word *Rejoice* three times over. This curious diversion of the narrative is thoroughly in the Alexandrine style, giving the poet an opportunity of showing his knowledge of mythical ornithology, and linking up his own particular myth with several others of the same kind, a process with which, on a vast scale, most of us are tolerably familiar in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Coming back to his story, the poet proceeds to another type of composition beloved of Alexandrine and later poets, namely an interview between a heroine and her confidante. Scylla rises at night, scissors in hand, to attack her father's head ; but she is caught on the way by her old nurse, who after scolding her in twenty-four heroic lines throws a cloak over 'chilly-little' Scylla's 'saffron-

¹ I cannot resist the suspicion that these lines (185-89) are Vergil's ; they are marked by most Vergilian pauses (see below, p. 9 footnote) and some Vergilian diction. If so, were they written by him as a suggested beginning for a new turn to the story ? In l. 190 *Tu* must surely be right for the *Hu* of the (XV-cent.) codices.

coloured night-dress'; and after another 100 lines of conversation puts her back into bed, taking care to extinguish the light by turning its wick upside down. Then she stays gently patting Scylla to quiet her, and sits up beside her all night 'bending over her chilly-little eyes, propped up on her elbow'. This thrilling scene has filled altogether 150 lines. In the morning the nurse persuades Scylla to try magic arts in the hope of persuading Nisus to make peace. They, however, are all exhausted in thirty lines, and then the nurse joins in the original plot. But after this, the story begins to gallop at breakneck speed: in no more than four lines Nisus is robbed of his rosy lock of hair, his city captured, and Scylla carried off (presumably by Minos, though we are not told how) and dragged through the sea by a rope attached to one of the ships. This passage is most characteristic of the author's manner.

'Again, therefore, Scylla becomes the foe of her father's head; then the lock of hair which blossomed with Tyrian purple is cut; then Megara is taken and the oracles of the gods made good; then the maiden, daughter of Nisus, suspended in strange fashion from the tall ships, is dragged through the blue sea.'

Clearly our narrator can make up for lost time when he chooses. Having got his heroine thus speedily into the water, what does it occur to him to say next? No modern reader could guess.

'A great number¹ of nymphs admire her in the water. Father Ocean admires her, and fair Tethys, and Galatea, hurrying her eager sisters along. The nymph, too, who is wont to traverse the great seas with a team of fishes, and a sea-green car of two-footed horses, Leucothea, and the little Palæmon beside his divine mother. Also the two gods whose destiny it is to live alternate days, the dear offspring of Jupiter, his great sons, the children of the daughter of Tyndareus;² they too admire the maiden's snowy limbs.'

But this admiration is quite platonic; not one of all this menagerie of sea-gods lifts a finger or a flapper to help her.

That is how the poet of the *Ciris* comports himself at the tragical climax—he simply runs away from it. Indeed "runs" is too weak a word—he bolts. And then he takes refuge behind a whole warehouse of mythological furniture. This stuff serves to fill sixteen lines

¹ *Complures*, the most prosaic of all possible epithets.

² That is, Castor and Pollux, described in only four different ways.

devoid of any trace of naturalness or pity. Then suddenly we come upon two which strike a note from a different world.

Raising to heaven, poor maid, her burning eyes,
Her eyes, for bonds held fast those tender hands.

No lovers of Vergil will need to be told who wrote these lines¹ or why we have a sudden outbreak of feeling in the midst of a frigid piece of Alexandrine fantasy.

There follows an oration of some fifty lines, the variations in which are hardly less remarkable. Scylla begins with a request to the winds to keep quiet for a little while she speaks ; and then turns to a careful account of her own kinship with them according to the best mythology. Minos is then denounced for having broken his bargain with her (though we have never been told when the bargain was made). Then come a few lines (418-24) of penitence naturally and feelingly worded, succeeded by rhetorical self-reproaches in which she dwells on the luxury and artistic adornment of her father's palace, sacrificed by her in order to befriend Minos.

'The rich palace with its delights did not move me, with its frail coral and tear-like gems of amber, nor all the crowd of attendant nymphs of my own age. Love conquers everything ; what would he not have conquered ? My temples will not now be moist with rich myrrh, nor will the bridal pine-torch kindle for me its chaste flame ; nor will my bedstead be of ivory nor spread with Assyrian purple rugs. These are great complaints ; nor will even the earth, common mother of all things, bury her foster-child with a handful of sand.'

Gallus clearly flattered himself on a knowledge of feminine taste ; and at the critical points of the tragedy, here as before,² he leaves room in his heroine's thoughts for these grave matters of toilet and furniture !

When the speech is ended we have a geographical description in twenty lines of the places which the ship passes, for an Alexandrine poet was always expected to display a knowledge of geography. The last seventy lines give the metamorphosis, carefully narrated. Scylla and her father are turned into a pair of birds, Scylla becoming the Ciris, or osprey, and her father the Haliæetus, a larger kind of sea-eagle.

¹ *Aen.* II. 405-6, where the order has been made more pointed, with two other slight improvements.

² Ll. 167-70 ; see above, p. 5. The detail is thoroughly Alexandrine, as Prof. W. B. Anderson reminds me ; cf. *Apoll. Rhod.* III. 828 ff.

Even this brief description of the framework of the poem will, I hope, have been enough to suggest, if not to prove, that it is quite impossible¹ to attribute any but occasional parts of it to Vergil; and in fact we have definite ground for believing that it was not written by him but by his intimate friend Gallus. For in a note on Eclogue X (l. 46) Servius remarks that 'all these lines,' presumably those in the context, 'are taken from the poems of Gallus'; and a little farther on (ll. 58, 59) we have two striking phrases which appear in the *Ciris* (ll. 196 and 299).

And again in Eclogue VI, which, no less than the Tenth, as Skutsch has shown,² is a catalogue describing a number of different poems, there are four lines allotted to Scylla, the daughter of Nisus. More than three of them are taken up with distinguishing her from the Homeric Scylla and are taken directly from the Preface to the *Ciris* with the change of a single epithet. These lines in the sixth Eclogue follow immediately two in which the poet is instructed to sing about 'the origin of the Grynean grove'; on which Servius remarks that this was the title of 'the poems of the Alexandrine writer, Euphorion, which Gallus translated into Latin'. We know that the poems of Euphorion consisted of bits of mythology worked up into miniature

¹ Let me add two confirmatory points of a definite nature which to some minds may be more convincing than any general estimate of poetic character. The first is the use of several words which appear nowhere in the works certainly attributed to Vergil, e.g. the two diminutives *frigidulus* (ll. 251, 348) and *tabidulus* (l. 182): the Greek words *sophia* (l. 4), *peplos* (l. 21), *thallos* (l. 376); and the colloquial use of *nulla* (l. 177) for *nunquam*. The second point is one which will appeal especially to those who have been through the discipline of composing Latin hexameters, the remarkable frequency of long stretches of the *Ciris* with no pauses, or very few, anywhere except at the end of the line. Thus in the first eleven lines there are no pauses at all elsewhere; in the next ten only three, and those very slight.; in the next twenty only five. Similarly in ll. 72-88 there are very few except at the end of a line, and there is a pause at the end of every one of them. The same monotony appears in Catullus' hexameters. But even in the most youthful work of Vergil the variation of the pauses is marked, and in fact this part of Vergil's technique is not the least beautiful of his gifts to Latin poetry. And in the lines which we noted in the *Ciris* as being possibly, for other reasons, due to Vergil (418-24) there are no less than seven pauses at other points than the end; and so in 403 and in 185-89.

² See p. 2 footnote.

epics, just of the type which the *Ciris* represents ; and it is quite natural that in describing another of the poems from this book, the story of Philomela, Vergil should use one line (81) which appears almost wholly in the *Ciris* (51). This definite information from Servius has been made by Skutsch the basis of a careful and convincing analysis of several of the Eclogues of Vergil which have to do with Gallus and contain quotations from the *Ciris*. The practice of complimenting a poet by summarizing his poem and giving a line or two from it was familiar in the poetical circles of Vergil's youth ; and other examples are Ovid's memorial poem on Tibullus (*Amores* III. 9) and Statius' birthday poem on Lucan (*Silvae* II. 7).

Before we leave the *Ciris* it is worth while to notice some of the changes that Vergil made in the lines he took over. The treatment which the Homeric Scylla gave to sailors is described thus by Gallus. (*Cir.* 61) :—

deprensos canibus nautas lacerasse marinis

quite a compact line, marching straight to the outside of the fact. But when Vergil changes (*Ecl.* vi. 77) the mechanical *deprensos* into *a ! timidos* a new note of both dramatic and pathetic intensity is suddenly introduced. And in the same Eclogue (l. 81 = *Ciris*, l. 51) we have another change to exactly the same purpose in the substitution of *infelix* for an adjective of mere colour (*caeruleis*).

On the other hand four lines taken over without any change are among those which the schoolboy finds among the hardest in the *Georgics*, because their connexion with the context in which they stand is implied rather than indicated—the lines describing the pursuit of the osprey by the sea-eagle, supposed to re-enact the vindictive pursuit of Scylla by her father, which appear in the list of signs of fine weather (*Georgics* i. 406-9). They come from the conclusion of the *Ciris*, where of course they are more in place. These examples, besides their intrinsic interest, give valuable evidence of the priority of the *Ciris* ; and there are a great number of others.¹

¹ I may be permitted to quote here a few sentences in which Mr. J. W. Mackail (*Class. Rev.* XXII. 1908, p. 69), expresses his own conclusions in the light of Skutsch's discovery :—

“ That the *Ciris* is the work of Gallus, to something of the same extent as the Eclogues are the work of Vergil, we cannot, I think, in view of the whole evidence reasonably doubt. But the two young poets were not

From this brief survey of the work of Vergil's friend and companion we turn to the earliest poem of Vergil himself. The *Culex* is a poem of 413 lines, which, according to a strongly confirmed tradition (Donatus, *Vita Vergili*, 17), he wrote when he was sixteen years old, i.e. in the year 54 B.C. Before testing this tradition let me give some account of the poem. The subject, as the title implies, is the story of a gnat (or mosquito), a curious theme for a poet even in his teens. But no one who has realized the delight with which in his *Georgics* Vergil dwells on the life of the smallest creatures, swallows and flycatchers, ants and bees, field mice and moles, will think it strange that the boy's imagination should have been caught by so common a feature of shepherd's life in Northern Italy as the swarms of gnats that 'possess the misty tracts of woodland and green forest' (*Culex*, 22). Pales, the goddess of flocks and herds, is invited to take an interest in the story and to bless the poet while he moves, like the gnat, 'midway between the valley and the stars'—a pretty conceit which would appeal to a clever schoolboy, as describing in the same phrase the free, swift, airy movements of the tiny creature, and the range of his own poetic ambition between humble subjects natural only linked by a close friendship, and inspired by common aims and enthusiasms. They worked at their art together. . . . Coleridge in later years gave a statement of what he had contributed to Wordsworth's pieces, and Wordsworth to his, in the *Lyrical Ballads*. . . . The poems came into being through the interpenetration of genius between the two: their authors were the Wordsworth who was influenced by Coleridge, and the Coleridge who was influenced by Wordsworth. Such, or of such a kind, was the relation between Vergil and Gallus. And this would be true even if it were the case that the sensuous, brilliant, erratic Gallus was as far below Coleridge in essential poetic genius as the brooding, solitary Vergil was above Wordsworth.

" . . . We may trace, I think, in the *Ciris* a genius that had developed faster than Vergil's, that was more quick and alert. It is the common case of early brilliance which shoots ahead, but soon comes to its limit. . . . The author of the *Ciris* seems to write with ease and to have a great natural gift of imitating the style of his predecessors. The *Ciris* begins with four lines which are pure Catullus, followed by a dozen which are pure Lucretius. The first fifty lines are indeed throughout a brilliant exercise or variation in a synthesis of these two styles. Then the Vergilian note comes in for the first time, in half a dozen lines (48-53) which are full of Vergilian phrases [and of Vergilian pauses.—R.S.C.]. It is as though Vergil himself had sat down by Gallus and guided his pen, or as though Gallus had suddenly felt and begun to reproduce Vergil's own melody and phrasing."

to a farmer's son and the heights of poetic achievement represented by the stars.¹

Here are the opening lines roughly rendered ; they are simple and here and there quite prosaic in diction :—

We have played in verse, Octavius, with the Muse,
 The homely Muse of country festivals
 Framing the song, and like a tiny spider
 Shaped our first cobweb ; now the play is done.
 The Gnat shall be its name ; so shall the line
 Of playful story fear no jealous eye,
 But run in time with truth, and win thy praise.

¹ These forty lines exhibit in their structure a rather interesting parallel to the exordium of the *Georgics*, which is of much the same length (42 lines). In both Prefaces the passage invoking the help of rustic deities of both Greek and Italian origin (12 lines in the *Culex*, 18 lines in the *Georgics*) is put in the middle, between passages which to a modern reader seem more directly relevant. For in each case the opening lines (11 in the *Culex* and 5 in the *Georgics*) give the name and purpose of the poem with the name of the person to whom it is dedicated ; and the concluding passage (17 lines in the *Culex* and 19 in the *Georgics*) explains the special claim of the subject to the help of the chosen patron. This parallelism is of particular interest to me, because if we are satisfied, as I hope we shall be, of the Vergilian authorship of the *Culex*, it supplies a confirmation of the interpretation which I have suggested (*Class. Association Proceedings*, Manchester, 1906, p. 35) for the address to Cæsar in this part of the *Georgics*. It is the passage in which the question is asked what kind of deity Cæsar will assume ; whether he will be a god of earth or heaven or sea or of the underworld, and this has given great trouble ; some commentators, indeed, have turned their own puzzlement into an excuse for deriding the poet. The puzzle becomes clear, I venture to think, so soon as one sees that the four alternatives are really literary ; that is to say, the question which the poet of the *Georgics* is really asking is what kind of subject he shall choose for the poem which Cæsar is to patronize. Shall he write on Astronomy or Agriculture or Exploration oversea or the life of the After-world ? All were subjects on which other authors of his time were busy, and the last was that to which he himself felt a paramount attraction all through his life, and to which at length he devoted the greatest Book of the *Aeneid*. Now in the dedication of the *Culex* to a boy whose name is Octavius, the first paragraph, as we have seen, mentions him by name only, but, just as in the *Georgics*, the third paragraph tells us also what other subjects the poet might have chosen, but does not think fit for a poem dedicated to him ; he will not write of war, such as that between Zeus and the giants, or that of the Centaurs ; nor of thefeat of Xerxes in cutting a canal through Mount Athos or building a bridge over the Hellespont ; nor of the invasion of Greece by the Persians. Is not this parallelism of structure remarkably close ?

For whoso thinks to blame the Muse's jest,
 We will account him lighter than the Gnat
 In both his name and person. But one day
 This playful Muse will speak in deeper tones,
 Pruning her poems to be worth your heed,
 If changing times can make my toil secure.

Lusimus, Octavi, gracili modulante Thalia,
 atque, ut araneoli, tenuem formauimus orsum ;
 lusimus : haec propter Culicis sint carmina dicta,
 omnis ut historiae per ludum consonet ordo
 notitiae : doctumque uoces, licet inuidus adsit.
 quisquis erit culpare iocos Musamque paratus,
 pondere uel Culicis leuior famaque feretur.
 posterius grauiore sono tibi Musa loquetur
 nostra, dabunt cum securos mihi tempora fructus,
 ut tibi digna tuo poliantur carmina sensu.

After the Preface one of the three characters of the rustic drama, the Shepherd, is introduced to us, driving his flock of goats out of their sheepfold to the pasture near the top of the mountain where 'the sunny sward covers the spreading hills'. When the shepherd appears the sun has just risen, filling the sky with wonderful colours, and at midday the flock find their way down into the valley, with its many-hued and many-scented plants pleasant for the reader to imagine and for the sheep to nibble ; some of the sheep take the opportunity of watching their reflexions in the stream beneath them. The details of the scene bear many resemblances to the description of the shepherd's retreat in Book II of the *Georgics* (467-74) ; and the lines that follow (57-97) are quite clearly an early study of the whole passage in the *Georgics* (458-531) in which the happiness of the countryman is contrasted with the unhealthy and pretentious luxury of the town. The opening lines will show its purpose :—

How good the shepherd's blessings if untaught
 And uncorrupt, he scorns not humble ways !
 Dreams that no luxury knows refresh his sleep
 And laugh at cares that wring the miser's heart.

O bona pastoris, si quis non pauperis usum
 mente prius docta fastidiat, et probet illi
 somnia luxuriae spretis incognita curis
 quae lacerant auidas inimico pectore mentes.

After the shepherd and the delights of his work have been put before us, we follow him to the midday watering of the sheep :—

The wandering flock
Move slowly¹ at his summons to the shoal
Beneath the whispering spring, the clear blue pool
Under green banks asleep in mossy shade.

Note here again how the boy-poet revels in colour. When the sheep are all safe from the sun, the shepherd finds a place for his own siesta ; the wood, we learn, was that in which a queen of tragedy rested after the terrible madness in which she had slain her own son, Pentheus ; it is a place where the wild-gods of the hillside join the nymphs of the trees and of the springs in dance and song, so that the river Peneus itself stops to listen to them. Every one of the trees has its colour and its story, and at the climax of the description the different colours and shapes are interwoven in a wonderful scheme of decoration which, if I am not mistaken, Tennyson has copied in his description of C^Enone's bower. The wood is full of birds ; their twitterings, and theplash of the spring with its echoes, and the chirp of the grasshoppers in the heat, and the touch of the whispering breeze in the tree-tops, all lull the shepherd to sleep ; the epithets describing his careless slumber are intentionally repeated from the passage describing rustic life. But now the plot begins to thicken ; the shepherd asleep, the second character appears. A great serpent comes to cool himself in some soft pool. I need hardly say that he is furnished with all the colours that the most respectable, indeed distinguished, serpent could desire to appear in ; his eyes are fiery, his tongue quivers, and his crest is splendidly erect. He is indignant that some man has come to a pool which he counted his own, and he poises to attack him. The sleeper's hours seem numbered, but help is at hand. A little gnat in pity rouses him to escape the danger, planting her² sting full in the middle of the shepherd's forehead—if that is the meaning of a rather corrupt line— ; the shepherd wakes, but in anger, and kills the gnat. Then seeing the serpent he at first retreats, but soon plucks a bough from a tree and beats the snake to death ; so ends the first half of the poem. But that night

¹ Reading *reptabant* with Heinsius.

² In Latin *culex* is masculine, but nothing shall shake my conviction that in English *gnat* is (or ought to be) feminine.

when the shepherd has put his flock to rest amid the shadows and fallen asleep himself, he is visited by the ghost of the gnat, who reproaches him for the ingratitude which she has suffered :—

Because I counted your life dearer than my own I am now the sport of the winds in empty places. You are resting at ease in happy sleep, saved from bitter calamity ; but my form is driven across the waves of Lethe by the powers of the world below.

After this brief preface the gnat, or at all events her poet, takes advantage of the Shepherd's sleeping hours to give him a picture, in 150 lines, of the underworld to which she is now condemned. One must confess that the little creature has made a very good use of her time ; for having only left the upper world after midday, by nine or ten o'clock at night she is prepared to lecture with eloquence and feeling on all the things and persons that are to be found in the region she has newly entered. This incongruity once granted, we must, I think, admit that the vision is arranged with no small skill and with flashes of real poetry which give promise of the power with which the poet later on handled the same themes. First of all come Tisiphone and Cerberus ; then the penalties of the wicked ; on which the gnat naively remarks that the sight of other people's misery makes her forget her own, a touch which, if it is boyish, is also thoroughly Vergilian. The gnat adds, if the text and its apparent interpretation can be trusted, that she is willing to suffer the penalty again if she may have some opportunity of doing other like service. Among the criminals we have some of the figures familiar to us in the great vision of the *Aeneid*, with others for whom later on Vergil found no place.¹ Then we pass by a brief transition to Elysium, where Persephone leads a procession of maidens in honour of the noble women who abide there. It is an interesting feature in the boyish picture ; there are women among the Blessed—Alcestis, Penelope, Eurydice. At sixteen he admitted women, properly qualified of course, to the full franchise of Elysium ; but, alas, after thirty years' experience he could find no women whom he cared to admit—at all events none by name—to any part of the afterworld save the mourning plains of Limbo. And then follows the story of Eurydice in a brief twenty-five lines, full of points which both remind us of the richer treatment of the story

¹ Otus and Ephialtes are added, Sisyphus and the Danaids, Medea and Procne, Eteocles and Polynices.

in the Fourth Book of the *Georgics* and disappoint us in the comparison—and yet lines, I venture to say, which if they had not been so far transcended would have been treasured as themselves not unworthy of a true poet. The passage is too long to render here. Let us notice only the end where Eurydice is described as

'faithfully carrying out the bidding of the gods and not moving her eyes or speaking ; but Orpheus was more cruel, who in his hunger for a dear kiss broke the divine command. 'Twas a love that claimed forgiveness, a gentle fault, if Tartarus had but known.'

dignus amor uenia ; gratum, si Tartara nossent,
peccatum ; meminisse graue est.

Here we have the original of a wonderful line in the later version ;

cum subito incautum dementia cepit amantem,
ignoscenda quidem, scirent si ignoscere Manes.

A sudden madness seized the unheeding lover,
Worthy forgiveness, if Hell could forgive.

Then we pass to the manly heroes, first the Greeks, Peleus and Telamon, then Ulysses and his comrades, and then many Trojans, who avoid the Greeks even in Elysium. This abiding enmity is a feature reproduced from the Homeric underworld ; but in Vergil's more mature conception it is retained only in the shades of Limbo ; in his Elysium all enmity is blotted out ; there is no night there. The mention of Agamemnon suggests the fate of his comrades who were shipwrecked, in some twenty lines. But by this time the gnat is beginning to be a little ashamed, or, at all events, afraid, of her own learning, and concludes her revelation by a ten-line-catalogue of Roman heroes. Here again we have anticipations of the Sixth Book of the *Aeneid*, and one or two figures for whom later on Vergil had no room, such as Horatius, Curtius, and Mucius Scaevola. Last of all come the Scipios

Whose conquering name the walls of ruined Carthage
Beneath their doom of weeds still shudder at.

And so the gnat passes from the happy lot of these immortal heroes to her own misfortune and again reproaches the shepherd for his cruelty, finally, however, invoking upon him not, like most other ghosts, a curse, but a gentle blessing. 'I depart never to see thee more ; but do thou dwell happy beside thy stream and the green forest land and the pastures.' After so kind a visit the shepherd is

struck with remorse, and rears a great tomb of earth and grassy sods in honour of the gnat, planting it with a crowd of wonderful flowers, and setting upon it an inscription saying that the shepherd offers to the gnat this tomb in gratitude for her having saved his life. So the poem ends in a garden of colour and fragrance, warm with the gratitude paid by a human member of creation to a tiny non-human creature who had sacrificed herself for his sake. Will any reader of the *Georgics*, I wonder, venture to say that all this is not Vergil through and through ?

But perhaps some hard-headed critic may reply, " After all, can this boyish stuff, however playful its purpose, be really attributed to a master-poet ? Need we think that Vergil was the author of so many weak lines, so many descents into mere prose ? " Let me then first remind you that Vergil himself did all he could to suppress the *Culex*, and indeed the whole of his youthful work ; and then compare the case of Tennyson, who suppressed many thousand¹ lines. So we learn from his son, who in his biography prints among other specimens a poem called *Anacaona*. It is worth while, I think, to reproduce two or three stanzas of this juvenile work, which is quite comparable to the feebler parts of the *Culex*.

A dark Indian maiden,
Warbling in the bloom'd liana,
Stepping lightly flower-laden,
By the crimson-eyed anana,
Wantoning in orange groves
Naked, and dark-limbed, and gay,
Bathing in the slumbrous coves,
In the cocoa-shadow'd coves,
Of sunbright Xaraguay,
Who was so happy as Anacaona,
The beauty of Espagnola,
The golden flower of Hayti ?

All her loving childhood
Breezes from the palm and canna
Fann'd this queen of the green wildwood,
Lady of the green Savannah ;
All day long with laughing eyes,
Dancing by a palmy bay,

¹ He mentions in a letter, quoted in the Biography (p. 10), one boyish epic which alone contained 6000.

In the wooded paradise,
Of still Xaraguay ;
None were so happy as Anacaona,
The beauty of Espagnola,
The golden flower of Hayti !

In the purple island,
Crown'd with garlands of cinchona,
Lady over wood and highland,
The Indian queen, Anacaona,
Dancing on the blossomy plain
To a woodland melody ;
Playing with the scarlet crane,
The dragon-fly and scarlet crane,
Beneath the papao tree !
Happy, happy was Anacaona,
The beauty of Espagnola,
The golden flower of Hayti !

Yet this facile Muse grew into the power which inspired *The Passing of Arthur*, and *In Memoriam*.

If we turn to the positive evidence for the authenticity of the *Culex*, no reasonable person can, I think, remain in doubt. In the first place, as Mr. J. W. Mackail rightly says,¹ "the external evidence for the Vergilian authorship is so good, that but for internal considerations it would be accepted without question". Martial twice attributes a poem of this name to Vergil (VIII, 56, *qui modo uix Culicem fleuerat ore rudi*; and XIV, 185). Suetonius in his Life of Lucan (Reifferscheid, p. 50) quotes a saying of that poet comparing his own youthful work to the *Culex*; Donatus in his Life of Vergil, states that Vergil wrote it when he was sixteen years old ; and then goes on to describe the story of the poem just as we have it, quoting the last two lines. Statius makes Calliope prophesy (*Siluae* II. 7, 73), that Lucan will write his poem on the death of Pompey at a younger age than Vergil's when he wrote the *Culex*; and in the Preface to Book I of the *Siluae*, he appeals to the example of this poem, saying that 'there is none of the great poets who has not preluded his works by some compositions in lighter style'. Mr. Mackail adds justly that "in a matter of this sort, Statius, who was not only a scholar and poet but a profound student and positive worshipper of Vergil, could hardly be mistaken. That the poem

¹ *Class. Rev.* XXII. 1908, p. 72.

known to Statius was a different one from the poem which we possess there is not the slightest ground for supposing."

But the internal evidence, which has been recently collected, is even more conclusive. No less than eighty definite resemblances between the *Culex* and Vergil's acknowledged work have been traced¹ by Miss Elizabeth Jackson, Faulkner Fellow of the University of Manchester; and even that list does not exhaust the points that might be cited. Let me quote here a few examples of the kind of resemblance which have carried absolute conviction to my mind. I started with great unwillingness to regard the poem as Vergilian, mainly because of the lightness of the treatment and the overfluency of decoration, so unlike the depth of suggestion which is perhaps the most wonderful of all the characteristics of the poetry of Vergil's prime.

(1) nec faciles Ditis sine iudice sedes,
iudice qui uitae post mortem vindicat acta. (Cul. 275.)

nec uero haec sine sorte datae, sine iudice sedes (Aen. VI. 431.)

(2) non Hellespontus pedibus pulsatus equorum. (Cul. 33.)

demens! qui nimbos et non imitabile fulmen
aere et cornipedum pulsu simularat equorum. (Aen. VI. 590-1.)

(3) si non Assyrio feruent bis lauta colore
Attalicis opibus data vellera. . . . (Cul. 62.)

alba neque Assyrio fucatur lana ueneno (Georg. II. 465.)

The whole passage in the *Georgics* shows repeated resemblances; and the relation between the two, and their common kinship to a Lucretian episode (II, 14 ff.) are carefully discussed by Miss Jackson (l.c.).

(4) et piger aurato procedit Vesper ab Oeta.
 (Cul. 203.)
 et in uito processit Vesper Olympo.
 (Ed. VI. 86.)

(5) ad Stygias reuocatus aquas. uix ultimus amni
 extat nectareas diuom qui prodidit escas.
 (Cul. 240.)
 tu Stygias inhumatus aquas amnemque seuerum
 Eumenidum aspicies.
 (Aen. VI. 374.)

¹ *Class. Quarterly*, v. 1911, p. 163.

(6) *aduersas praeferre faces.*

(Cul. 262.)

funereasque inferre faces.

(Aen. VII. 337.)

(7) *gramineam ut uiridi foderet de caespite terram
iam memor incepsum peragens sibi cura labore
congestum cumulauit opus.*

(Cul. 393.)

pauperis et tuguri congestum caespite culmen.

(Ecl. I. 68.)

"Such soft echoes of sound are peculiarly important ; they would hardly occur to a mere imitator, but they might well linger in the mind of the poet who first conceived them. If Vergil did not write the *Culex*, it would seem that he must at all events have known it by heart for a long period of years".¹

That the preface of the poem was written before 44 B.C. is beyond doubt,² and we shall soon see that 50 B.C. is a more probable date. It follows that these resemblances between it and the undoubtedly poems of Vergil (which are all later than that date) cannot be due to imitation of these poems by the author of the *Culex*, but must imply an intimate acquaintance with the *Culex* on the part of Vergil himself. It may reasonably, therefore, be asked of those who think that the poem is quite unworthy of Vergil—it is, of course, unworthy of his maturity—whether he would have been likely to give careful attention to such a poem—so careful, in fact, as to have learnt it almost by heart. No one, I think, will be inclined to differ from Dr. Warde Fowler, perhaps the weightiest and most conservative authority in this country on the study of Vergil, when he writes³ : "It seems to me to have been proved by Miss Jackson that the poem is an early work of Vergil".

Being now in possession of the general content and character of this poem we may turn to the interesting biographical questions connected with the circumstances of its composition and its dedication to someone called Octavius. The third part⁴ of the Preface (ll. 24-41) begins thus :—

¹ Miss E. Jackson, *I.c.* p. 169.

² See, e.g. Skutsch, *Aus Vergils Frühzeit*, p. 134.

³ *Class. Rev.* XXVIII. 1914, p. 119.

⁴ The threefold division has already been noticed, p. 12 footnote.

'And do you in whom my confidence is fixed, if only what is written be worthy enough, revered child of the Octavian house, come like some bird of good omen to speed my attempt. Come innocent boy, for this page sings to you of no dire warfare like the conflict between Jove and the giants.'

Who was this Octavius? Why was the poem dedicated to him, and why especially on the ground of its having a peaceful subject? It is to be a gentle theme told in unambitious verse, fit for his own powers if Phœbus will but guide him; that is to say, in the language of prose, the poet is choosing a subject which most people would think too humble for poetry.

The preface concludes with a prayer which is in many ways characteristic, that glory of this kind (i.e. of an interest in such subjects) may rest for ever like a shining crown upon his forehead, that he may always have a place in a home of honour and affection (*sede pia*), and that the unharmed life of security, which is his due, may be the theme of men's gratitude through many happy years shining in prosperity. We may fairly ask whether any poet but Vergil in that age, would have composed such a blessing? The repetition of the word *lucens*, 'shining' is a mark of Vergil's taste; and the desire for the child, that he should be in *pia sede*, is not less Vergilian; while the closing wish that he shall earn men's gratitude, is the crown which Vergil sets upon the highest group of the souls whom he places in Elysium, those who by good service have made at least some few remember them.

quique sui memores aliquos fecere merendo
(*Aen.* VI. 664).

Dr. Warde Fowler's conclusion¹ can hardly be resisted. "The Octavius to whom the poem is dedicated was the future Augustus. There is one other possible candidate for the honour (see Leo's edition, p. 22), but there is an almost universal agreement that the language of these lines forbids us to think of any boy but the nephew of the dictator Julius Cæsar."

But now mark what follows from this. Let me quote Dr. Warde Fowler again:—

"All this dedication seems to me to suggest that Octavius was very young, a *puer* in the strict sense of the word. He is asked to

¹ *Class. Rev.* XXVIII. 1914, p. 119.

accept the poem because the theme is not warlike but homely. His whole life is before him : he has as yet done nothing heroic, and is, indeed, not of an age to listen to tales of war and bloodshed ; nay, the poet seems to suggest a hope that he may live to be a man of peace. I cannot think that such a poem, with such a dedication, could have been addressed to Octavius after he had taken his *toga virilis*. That event¹ took place on October 18, 48 B.C. . . . The epithets *sanctus* and *uenerandus* are mainly suggested by the tender age and innocence of the boy. I am ready to accept the view that they are rendered still more appropriate by the fact that this boy was the nephew of the governor of Cisalpine Gaul, to whom the Transpadani, with the poet's family beyond doubt among them, had long been looking up as their political champion.

“ . . . If we could be sure that the two boys had already met when the dedication was written, we should also be justified in seeing a characteristic Vergilian tenderness in these words ; for Octavius, if we may trust the famous bust, was a beautiful and discreet boy, and the poet's love for all young creatures was marked ; Euryalus, Lausus, Pallas—has any poet ever touched with such pure tenderness of feeling the inost beautiful types of boyhood in portraits such as these ? I am inclined to think that Vergil and Octavius may actually have met in the year 50 B.C., when the elder was about twenty and the younger thirteen. At the end of the eighth book of the 'De Bello Gallico' Hirtius tells us that Cæsar came to Cisalpine Gaul early in that year, and was busy canvassing in the province ; also that he was received in the Transpadane part of the province, to which the poet's family belonged, with great acclaim, and was feted wherever he went.² We are not told that he summoned his nephew from Rome to spend the summer with him. But Octavius was the one hope of the family, and Romans like Cicero and Cæsar felt tenderly towards the boys in whom they placed their hopes, and wished to see them after long absence, like our Indian parents of to-day.

“ It is pleasant to think it quite possible that Vergil may have seen

¹ This appears to me to render completely untenable the view suggested by Robinson Ellis (*Cl. Rev.* X. 1896, p. 182) that the poem dated from 45-44. But the very interesting links between the scene of ll. 109-156 and the Thesprotian region, with which Robinson Ellis was mainly concerned in that article, deserve fuller investigation.

² *Cum liberis omnis multitudo obuiam procedebat.*

Octavius at Mantua, or even talked with him. In any case, I would suggest that this year 50 B.C. is a likely one for the date of the dedication, though the poem as a whole may have been composed earlier, perhaps when the lad Vergil was only sixteen, as Donatus tells us in his life of the poet."

To this I venture to add a few lines from the postscript which Dr. Fowler allowed me to append to the article just quoted: "It seems most probable, indeed almost necessary, to suppose that in the Transpadane country Caesar would have met so able and important a landowner as Vergil's father. Anyone who has been at Pietole must realize what a sweep of country is described in the Ninth Eclogue (7-9).¹ Speaking from memory, I should think that this would mean an extent of not less than ten miles at whatever point of the compass the *colles* may be located. The support of such a man, especially as his prosperity was not more conspicuous than his knowledge of agriculture and of bee-keeping and his enthusiasm for learning, was just such a source of strength as the enlightened Julius would be most anxious to draw to his own side; and knowing what we do of the relation between Vergil and his father, from almost every book of the *Aeneid*, who can doubt that the old man would have seized every opportunity of putting the shy and lovable genius of the lad into as close touch as he could with the great and god-like patron of the Transpadane?"

"Altogether it appears to me that the picture which Dr. Warde Fowler conjures up of the big boy Vergil taking the little boy Octavius round the Mantuan farm and showing him, to their common delight, all the creatures and places to which he himself was equally attached as boy, farmer, and poet, is one of the probabilities far too good not to be true."

In any case we may regard it, I think, as established beyond any doubt that Vergil and Octavius were acquainted before the future emperor was fifteen years old.

Let us turn in conclusion to two of the poems (VII and X) in the

¹ *qua se subducere colles
incipiunt mollique iugum demittere cliuo
usque ad aquam.*

This argument of course depends on the trustworthiness of the tradition connecting the modern Pietole with the ancient Andes.

small collection known as the "Katalepton". These two have been almost universally acknowledged as genuine, although it must be confessed that some of their surroundings in the collection are quite un-Vergilian. Both of them contain the name of the Epicurean philosopher, Siro, whom we know from Suetonius as Vergil's teacher, and whom he regarded with veneration. The later of the two poems sprang from the misfortune that befell Vergil and his father in the Civil War ; for when they were expelled from their own ample estate they took refuge in the small country house with the modest ground attached that had once belonged to Siro, and 'by him had been counted great riches'. The other, which is worth considering in full, marks an interesting epoch in the poet's inward history. It records the impressions with which he left school and parted from the two branches of education which were then in chief vogue at Rome, viz. rhetoric and grammar ; and also how it seemed his duty to bid good-bye, or almost good-bye, to his chief delight, that of writing poetry, because he felt it laid upon him to be a philosopher.

Ite hinc, inanes, ite, rhetorum ampullæ,
inflata rore non Achaico uerba,
et uos, Seliique Tarquitique Varroque,
scholasticorum natio madens pingui,
ite hinc, inane cymbalon iuuentus.
tuque, o mearum cura, Sexte, curarum,
uale, Sabine ; iam ualete, formosi.
nos ad beatos uela mittimus portus,
magni petentes docta dicta Sironis,
uitamque ab omni uindicabimus cura.
ite hinc, Camenæ, uos quoque ite iam,—sane
dulces Camenæ ; nam fatebimur uerum,
dulces fuistis : et tamen meas chartas
reuisitote, sed pudenter et raro.

Begone, ye barren flowers of speech,
The stuff that rhetoricians teach,
Big words by Attic wit ungraced ;
And you, dull tribe of ample waist,
Whose barren joy it is to hammer
Young heads with ding-dong rules of grammar ;
You too, my friend of friends, good-bye !
No more to your fair class come I ;
But setting sail 'neath sterner skies,
And seeking havens of the wise.

Great Siro's lofty lore I'll hear
 And ransom life from every fear.
 Away, ye Muses, yes, away !
 Though playmates dear, ye must not stay.
 And yet, ah ! yet,—steal back again,
 Just modestly, just now and then.

In this boyish poem we see Vergil in his first love for philosophy, a love directed to a very different side of that protean creature from the severe and sober Stoicism which claimed him in the end. One can well believe that the lines bidding farewell to his fellow-schoolboys—a farewell which refers merely to the end of their daily companionship in study—were very likely written when Vergil was fresh from reading the whole of Lucretius' poem, *De Rerum Natura*, in which, as we all know, the poet-philosopher, while embracing the ethical teaching of Epicurus, worked out his physical system into a heroic and often brilliantly successful attempt at a scientific setting forth of the laws of the universe. This poem was published after its author's death in 55 B.C., when Vergil was fifteen ; and in writing the *Culex*, some time before 50 B.C. (very likely in 54), Vergil had shown that he was familiar¹ with the easier parts of it. In the years that followed we may conjecture that he had mastered the more technical part, and had felt the glow of admiration for the author which even now fills the mind of every reader who comes fresh to its wonderful attack upon difficult problems. Who can doubt that Vergil hoped, as every young philosopher does when his enthusiasm is first kindled, that he might live to out-do his master and himself to penetrate somehow to the great secret of the universe ? That is what he means by *beatos portus* 'the happy havens of the wise'.

But how was this to be done ? What path was the young philosopher to follow ? Remember the date—55 to 50 B.C.—the years of a steadily darkening horizon in the political world, when the shadow of the most gigantic of the Civil Wars that even Rome had suffered was deepening month by month ; the years in which active politicians went about Italy, sometimes even in Rome, with gangs of hired cut-throats to protect themselves from violence and practise it on their opponents ; years of which a lurid picture has

¹ See, e.g. p. 19, the third example.

been drawn for us in Cicero's defence of Milo. Now, as I think Dr. Warde Fowler has pointed out, the day-to-day, hand-to-mouth philosophy of pleasure, which says "eat and drink as happily as you may, for to-morrow we shall probably die," has never found much favour among men except in epochs when the framework of society has been loosened and when regular occupation, property, family-ties, and life itself have all become precarious. In such times men's working faith in the steadiness of the universe, in the existence of a good providence, is shaken ; and old-fashioned principles corresponding to the ordinary conduct of life in settled periods (the *prisca superciliea* of the *Copa*, l. 34) sound hollow and impossible. The connexion of these two ideas is very clear all through Lucretius' poem ; amidst the horrors of political life, nature still provides her simple pleasures for anyone who will take them without question and without vain dreams of avarice and ambition or cruel dreams of power. It is under the influence of this teaching that we find Vergil very soon after his poetry begins.

The charming elegiac poem called *Copa*, or Mine Hostess, which is full of Vergilian beauties of language¹ and scenery, gives us a vivid picture of the Epicurean creed at its best. I had hoped to be able to include some account of it ; but time forbids. Notice only the ending. After enumerating the delights of rest in the garden of her wayside hostelry and bidding the tired, dusty wayfarer come and taste them, the hostess ends with a brief and sudden touch of solemnity in the last line :—

Mors aurem uellens, Viuite, ait, uenio.

'Death plucks your ear and cries, Live now, I come'.

After all, that is the end of every Epicurean sermon, and it is a text of which men are apt to grow rather tired ; such stimulus as it gives is very soon spent. In the agony of the Civil Wars the youth

¹ Among the more formal points of Vergilian style may be mentioned the half-plaintive introductory question *Quid iuuat* (l. 5, cf. *Aen.* II. 776) ; the repetition of *est* (ll. 20-21, cf. *Georg.* IV. 387, *Aen.* VI. 792, IX. 205) ; and among more substantial likenesses *rumpunt arbusta cicadae* (l. 27, cf. *Georg.* III. 327) ; *prolue uitro* (l. 29, cf. *Aen.* I. 739) ; and the construction *suave rubentia* (l. 19, cf. e.g. *Aen.* VI. 201). The riddle which Mr. J. W. Mackail leaves unsolved (*Latin Literature*, p. 105) may perhaps be answered in some degree by regarding the poem as a study of the Epicurean creed.

of Rome went through an even crueler though less ennobling discipline than that to which the youth of Europe has now suddenly been called. Childish things were put away because, in the end, they must be, and with them the pleasure-philosophy of Epicurus. The condition of society which had at first encouraged its growth, at length had crushed it by sheer weight of misery. In ten dreadful years from 50-40 B.C. the Epicurean view of life proved an empty consolation to hearts broken by anarchy and carnage. But at the end of those ten years there rose some faint hope—the hope of a new and peaceful world born from mighty travail, to be governed by the offspring of the Octavius to whom Vergil's boyish poem had been dedicated. In Eclogue IV, which was to celebrate the birth of a child to Augustus, a poem written in Vergil's thirtieth year, we find a transition from the materialistic despondency of Lucretius to a combination of the Epicurean sense of the intrinsic beauty and sweetness of the natural world with a deeper, more ethical conception of man's work within it. Read from this point of view, even that famous Eclogue will be found to possess new interest. But there is a well-known passage in which Vergil takes a step farther ; the great lines (*Georg.* II, 458-540) written probably some time between his thirty-third and thirty-ninth years, in which he expresses his still admiring reverence for Lucretius, but goes on to declare his own new and deeper conviction. By this time the Epicurean teaching holds definitely the second place in Vergil's thoughts. He will take all the knowledge that its science can give ; but the key to life is not there ; it is in piety, in hard work, in gratitude to mysterious superhuman powers, and, above all, in wonder, wonder at the undying mystery of smiling and frowning skies, of love and pain, of life and death.

Happy indeed is he whose skill can find
The cause of each and all things, mastering so
Fear and stern Fate, and hearing undismayed
The hungry roar of Death's advancing flood.
Yet not unblest that other, who has learnt
To know the sacred creatures of the woods,
Pan with his pipe, and hoary old Silvanus
And all the fairy sisterhood at play.
Nought cares he for the pomp of crowds and courts.
Rome rises, kingdoms fall, he works unmoved.
He views the rich and knows no pang of envy,
Succours the poor without a grudging thought.

* * * * *

Far from the clash of arms, the just, kind earth
Pours out before him plentiful reward ;
Peace without fear, a life of solid truth
Full of a thousand pleasures,—open fields
Free air and moving waters, cliffs and woods,
Cool mountain valleys, herds of lowing kine,
Soft lawns and bowers where sunburnt shepherds rest.

NOTES UPON SOME OF THE KURÂNIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

BY THE REV. A. MINGANA, D.D.

THREE are sixty manuscripts in the John Rylands Library which deal with the *Kurân*. Forty-six contain the sacred text, and fourteen treat of exegesis, orthography, and good reading. All Islamic compositions referring to *Hadith* or oral traditions concerning the life and the sayings of the Prophet are excluded from the above heading.

I.

Among the first series of manuscripts we find some which commend themselves to the palæographer either on account of their very ancient date (VIIIth cent.) or the peculiarities of their script. More than one specimen of the writing which they exhibit is wanting in Dr. Moritz's valuable "Arabic Palæography" (1905), in the Palæographical Society's publications (1875-1883), and in other similar works.

There are also three volumes written from beginning to end in letters of gold, which by reason of the beauty of their execution will doubtless appeal to lovers of Eastern art. It would appear that the original collectors of these manuscripts displayed a special interest in this respect, with the result that many of the volumes easily take rank amongst the finest examples extant. One of these, which formerly belonged to Caussin of Perceval was brought from the East in 1858. It was regarded as one of the most noteworthy exhibits in the Paris exhibition of 1867, and several of its pages have been reproduced in colour in M. Prisse d'Avesnes' "Art Arabe".¹² Furthermore, it has the distinction of being the largest *Kurân* known to exist, measuring as it does 860 x 540 mm.

There are two complete *Kurâns* written upon rolls of paper

of the following dimensions : diameter of the cylinder when the paper is rolled up, 16 mm. and 17 mm. respectively. Full length of the scrolls, 11 ft. 6½ in. and 12 ft. 3½ in. respectively, whilst the breadth is 60 mm. and 77 mm.

The rolls consist of a series of ornamentations, sometimes continuous and sometimes interrupted, whose lines of demarcation are the sacred text. The Sūrahs are introduced by the *Basmalah*, but there is no help to the eye to find them. Many such textual ornaments are shaped in red ink, but the text itself is in black. The words are so skilfully, but also so fantastically interwoven in the small blank spaces, that it is difficult to find out where a given verse is placed. The Kurān seems to have been written in this curious manner, in order that it may make a good amulet to be worn by a Muhammadan prince. Some few other libraries contain *curiositatis causā* one of these rolls,¹ but so far as we can judge from the descriptions given by the scholars who catalogued them, they differ somewhat from those now in Manchester.

There is one very curious manuscript of the Kurān which is deserving of special attention. It is that numbered Cod. 52 in the Crawford collection, and Cod. 133 in the Bland collection. It is written in an unusual form of slanting characters with very thick horizontal strokes. We doubt whether copies of the Kurān written in this character of script are numerous.

It is the most curiously written Kurān that we have ever met ; it contains some wonderful anomalies of spelling attributable perhaps to the carelessness of the scribe ; for instance, in Sūratul-Bakārah, from verse 66 to verse 80, we find the following curiosities of spelling, which may easily touch the point of what we might call a *mistake*. كادوا for كادوا ; first alif of v. 69 omitted ; final alif of منها of v. 69 omitted ; final alif of الصلوات for الصلوات ; فريق for فريقا ; واد القربي for وادي القربي ; وادي القربي for ميشاقكم repeated twice.

The characteristic mark of this manuscript is that two nouns or a particle and a noun are frequently joined together, ex. gr. لسمسا for التسمسا ; هل هم for هل هم ; الـ لـ for الـ لـ. The letter ك, as is the case in many other manuscripts, is written like a ل, but a small ك is formed over it

¹ Cf. Cod. 571, p. 135, of Baron de Slane's "Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale" (1883-1895).

to distinguish it from the last letter. In case of two *Hamzas*, at the beginning of a word, the first one is often written separately **ا**, for **اا**.

The text exhibits sometimes archaic spelling to be put side by side with the oldest copies of the *Kurâن* that we possess, and sometimes it offers readings which, by their undoubted internal value, and by their simultaneous homogeneity with the other kindred languages, would point to a very early period in Arabic literature. On the other hand, the manuscript dating only from XIII-XVIth cent. may give rise by its carelessness to some perplexities on the ground of orthodoxy.

A large number of passages have been either erased or covered over with thin pieces of paper, throughout the volume, which numbers 882 pages, with eleven lines to the page, and measures 223 x 170 mm. As no later hand has touched it for the purpose of readjusting its lines to suit the standard text, since the space occupied by the lines which have been purposely erased is left in blank, it would perhaps be useful to inquire as to the nature of the text eliminated in this strange manner.

Generally, when words have been obliterated, the space which they occupied is, as stated above, left blank, but a letter or two, at times a word or two, have been added by a later hand at the beginning and at the end of this space, to harmonize the text with the *textus receptus* of the *Kurâن*. It is not, therefore, the first copyist who is responsible for all these changes. The following four instances will serve as specimens.

Fol. 24b. There is one line blotted out which perhaps contained a text in addition to that of the *Kurâن*, since the end of the line (فِي دَلْفٍ) and the beginning of the other line after the blank (ان ارادوا) (II, 227) correspond exactly to the standard text.

Fol. 42a. A line has been blotted out; the last word of the blank space is (عَكْمٍ III, 75) and the first word of the other line (تَوْمَنْ) ; but after عَكْمٍ the letter *waw* stands alone and ought to be joined with the following word تَوْمَنْ which is preceded by the blank line. This points to the probability of one line and a half having been purposely obliterated.

Fol. 43b. Two lines and a half have been blotted out ; the last

word of the blank space is (مَقْعُودٌ III, 91) ; the first word of the other line (أَوْلَادُهُمْ) is found in the middle of the third line, leaving room for three or four more words.

Fol. 109b. One line in the middle of the page has many obliterated words between حَالَةٌ and يَوْمٌ (VII, 30), so that other words existed between the two ; moreover some letters appear from the erased words which cannot be safely supplied.

It may not be out of place here to remark that in the *al-Muknî* of ad-Dâni (d. A.H. 444), there are some interesting variants of the Kurâن about which, as is commonly admitted, al-Baidhâwi maintains silence. If the hope, expressed by a few scholars, for a critical edition of the sacred book of Islâm, is some day to be realized, Dâni's composition will be found useful. A glance at one chapter of the manuscript under notice reveals three variant readings not mentioned by al-Baidhâwi :—

Sûrah VII, 27 ; our MS., fol. 96b, gives the reading لِلَّهِ, instead of لِلَّهِ.

Sûrah X, 23 ; our MS., fol. 97a, gives the reading كَمْرَكْمَنْ instead of كَمْرَكْمَنْ.

Sûrah XLII, 29 ; our MS., fol. 100a, gives the reading كَسْبَكَسْبَكَ instead of كَسْبَكَسْبَكَ.

II.

Among the second series of manuscripts there are some very useful ones. If we mistake not, some of them are very rare and three unique, since they are not represented in the catalogue of the rich Berlin collection compiled by W. Ahlwardt (1887-1899) and consisting of ten large volumes. Neither are they found in the catalogue of the "Bibliothèque Nationale," compiled (1883-1895) by Baron de Slane, nor in the two catalogues of the British Museum, by Cureton (1846), and by Dr. Rieu (1872 and 1894). They are also absent from the Library of Gotha, whose descriptive catalogue is due to Dr. W. Pertsch (1878-1892), from Flügel's catalogue of the Imperial Library of Vienna (1865-1867), and finally from the Khedivial Library of Cairo (A.H. 1310), etc. In the following pages we shall offer a few remarks on each of these MSS numbered respectively 347, 601, 337, and 729 :—

A.

Cod. 347 has for its title حجۃ الاسلام, "Proof of Islâm". It is written in a clear Naskhi, and deals with the good writing and the pronunciation of the Kurân, arranged in sections under the Sûrah headings. The author is called Muhammad Badrul-Islâm, who explains the aim of his book in sentences which we translate thus:—

"When I noticed that many people have neither the leisure nor the wish to peruse detailed books treating of the transcription of the Kurân, I compiled, in an abridged form, a small book, from such reliable compositions as the *Itkân*, the *Shâtiibyyah*, the *Mudâkik* and the *Djazaryyah*. I collected also interesting traditions which will appeal to the heart of the high and the common people, and which would be a source of meditation to men of understanding and thought. I entitled it: 'Proof of Islâm,' in the transcription of a text corresponding to that of the Imâm.¹

" . . . It occurs in the Hadith that Gabriel—peace be with him—said: 'Recite the Kurân in seven letters, each one being sufficient and efficient'. Ibn Mas'ûd said that this Kurân came down in seven letters, each one having an apparent sense and one requiring development (Dhahrun wa Bañun). If you say: 'What does he mean by seven letters?' I shall answer that many opinions have been expressed about that. . . . And Abu 'Ubaidah said: 'The seven letters mean the seven dialects of the language of the Arabs'. It does not imply that there are seven ways in which a letter may be found; this has not been heard of at all, but it does mean that these seven dialects are disseminated here and there in the Kurân. Some of them are in the dialect of Kuraish, some of them in the dialect of Hawâzen, some of them in the dialect of Hudhail, some of them in the dialect of Yaman, some of them in the dialect of Dûs, and some of them in the dialect of Tamîm. Some say that these seven letters are the seven readings that the seven Imâms have adopted; one of these is 'Âsim b. Abin-Nujûd, and the name of his mother is Bahdalat, and he is called 'Âsim son of Bahdalat; the second is Hamzah, son of Habib az-Zayyât; the third is 'Ali b. Hamzah al Kisâ'i; all these three were from Kûfah. The fourth is 'Abdallah b. Kathîr, the

¹ The Imâm is the Caliph 'Othmân under whose authority the Kurân was finally compiled.

imām of Maccāh ; the fifth is Nafī' b. 'Abdur-Rahmān b. Mas'ūd, the imām of Madinah ; the sixth is 'Amr. b. al-'Ālā', the imām of Baṣrah, and his nickname is al-'Ariān (= the naked) b. 'Ammār b. al-'Ariān, and his surname is Abu 'Amr ; the seventh is 'Abdallah b. 'Āmer, the imām of Damascus.

“ . . . Authors differ as to the number of the copies that 'Othmān sent to various countries. It is a well-known tradition that they were five ; b. Dāoūd, referring to Ḥamzah az-Zayyāt, said that 'Othmān sent four copies ; b. Abi Dāoūd said also : 'I heard abu Ḥātim of Sijistān say : “ He wrote seven copies that he sent to Maccāh, to Damascus, to Yāman, to Bahrain, to Baṣrah, and to Kūfah ; and he retained one in Madinah, and it is found at present in the *Enlightened Meadow* ” .

“ . . . Yazid b. Abi Ḥabib reports that the amanuensis of 'Amr. b. al-'Ās wrote to (the caliph) 'Umar—may Allah be pleased with him—*Bismillah*, without forming distinctly the (letter) *Sīn*, and 'Umar—may Allah be pleased with him—struck him ; he has been asked, with what did the Amir of the faithful strike you ? he said : He struck me with a *Sīn*.”

B.

The title of Cod. 601 is حاشیة على الہیضاوی, “Glosses on Al-Baīdhāwī”. The volume consists of glosses on part of *Anwārūt-Tanzīl* of al-Baīdhāwī. Three rhymed lines are found at the end of the MS. in the hand of a man weakened by age, with a note which we translate as follows :—

“(The book) has been finished by the hand of its writer Ahmad Shihābūd-Dīn b. Muhammād al-Misrī—may God forgive his sins.”

The manuscript is, therefore, an autograph of the first author. There is an inscription in Turkish which shows that at the time when it was added (about A.H. 1075) the author was already dead : بو حاشیه هشایه اخیریتہ هشایب مرحومات بظیفه وارد در. In the pages which follow this note we are informed that a certain Sulaimān bought the book in 1192, for the sum of seven piastres and a half. In the catalogue of the Khedivial Library (pp. 181-182) mention is made of this Shihāb as author of a commentary on Al-Baīdhāwī. He is there given the surname of Al-Khaffājī, and he is said to have died in A.H. 1069. The author of our manuscript might

be identified with him, but the books, judging from the quotation of the first words of the text, are different ; they seem to represent two independent works by the same writer. An edition of the manuscript at Cairo was printed at Bulak (A.H. 1283) with Al-Baidhāwi's text. From fol. 7b and fol. 8a we translate the following extract :—

“ About (al-Baidhāwi's) saying : ‘ This is not accurate because (the Prophet)—prayer and peace be with him—stoned two Jews ’—he (al-Baidhāwi) refers to what is in al-Bukhāri who quotes ‘ Abdallah b. ‘Umar as saying : ‘ The Jews came to God's Prophet and told him that a man and a woman from amongst them had committed adultery ’. God's Prophet said to them : ‘ What do you find in the Torah about stoning ? ’ They answered : ‘ They must be stripped of their garments and be scourged ’. Then ‘ Abdallah b. Salām said : ‘ You have lied ; it is written that they should be stoned ’. They brought the Torah, and they opened it, and one of them put his hand on the verse containing the stoning. Then ‘ Abdallah b. Salām said to him : ‘ Lift up your hand ’ ; and he lifted up his hand, and, behold, the verse of the stoning was found in it. Then they said : ‘ It is true, O Muhammad, the verse of stoning is found in it ’. God's Prophet ordered, therefore, that they should be stoned.”

C.

The title of Cod. 337 is بحر المحب، “Sea of Love”.¹ This title may be misleading, because the book is simply a commentary on Sūrat Yūsuf (XII). The author's name is not given. The manuscript was written in Lahore, by a certain Haidar, surnamed Amir Mudhaffar al-Khaibar, 1233 A.H. Some of the characteristics of the narration will be gathered from the following anecdotal tradition :—

“ And God the Most High revealed unto Joseph that he would send Gabriel with a message containing greetings and the information that God would reward him on account of Jacob his father. And Gabriel reached him before the she-camel, and offered him condolence as God the Most High had ordered him. And God the Most High had appointed an angel to protect the she-camel till she came to Joseph. And God the Most High caused her to speak. And she

¹ From the citation of the first words of the text, this manuscript is not identical with that found in the Khedivial Library (*ibid.* p. 218, Cod. 255).

spoke in Hebrew and said : 'Peace be with you, O Joseph, your father will greet you in the day of the Resurrection, and he is pleased with you'. He was much afflicted with that, and he mourned during three days. The she-camel wept on Jacob. Then (Joseph) said : 'My Lord, Thou hast given me power, and thou hast taught me the interpretation of ḥadiths ; Creator of heavens and of earth, thou art my Protector in this world, and in the world to come, grant that I should die Moslem'. He asked for death at that time, and God sent Gabriel to him and said to him : 'God the Most High says that you will not die until from you, and from your child, and from your child's child, you may count six hundred (persons). At that time, your life will end.' Then he called the inhabitants of Egypt into Islām."

D.

كنز العباد في شرح الوراد, The title of Cod. 729 is "Treasury of Worshippers in a Commentary on the Awrâds".

Written in a rough Naskhi, about A.D. 1630. The margins are generally injured by worms, so also are many letters of the text itself. The last four leaves are supplied in a modern hand.

The Awrâds are the familiar citations from the Kūrān occurring in some invocations of daily worship. A commentary was written upon them by the celebrated doctor 'Umar b. Yahya as-Suhrawardi. The present work is a commentary by 'Ali b. Ahmad al-Ghūri, in mingled Arabic and Persian, upon the commentary of Suhrawardi. A similar work is mentioned by Haji Khalifa (*Haji Khalfae Lexicon Encyclopaedicum et Bibliographicum* ; edit. Flügel, Vol. V, pp. 254-255 ; two incomplete copies exist also in the Library of the India Office (cf. codd. 363, 364 in Loth's Cat.).

From the contents of the present work it would appear to have a more appropriate place under the heading "Law," but the title, referring to divisions in the sacred text, justifies its inclusion under the heading "Kurānic literature". On the leaf preceding the first page of the text, there is a list of the sections of the book. From the following titles of a few chapters, it will be inferred that the author deals with points of casuistry and with Muhammadan legislation in general :—

"A chapter on sneezing. A chapter on greetings. A chapter

on forgiveness. A chapter on the traveller's prayer. A chapter on usury. A chapter on marriage. Dhikr in the month of Sha'bân. Dhikr in the month of Ramadhân. A chapter on what spoils the fasting. A chapter on the prayer of Friday, . . ." etc.

On fol. 75b. we find the following passage :—

" If some one sneezes, he must thank God and say : ' Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds ; praise be to God in all events ' ; he is not to say other things. People who are present ought to say : ' May God have pity on you ' ; then the sneezer will say : ' May God forgive me and you, or, lead you in the right way and make good your condition ' . He must not say other things. In the '*Awârif*,¹ in the thirtieth chapter (the Prophet)—peace be with him—said : ' He who sneezes or experiences a yawn and says : " Praise be to God in all events," God will take away from him seventy diseases, the easiest of which is elephantiasis. . . .

" It is written in the Hadith that the sneezer deserves an utterance of prayer if he praises God when sneezing. If his companion has prayed for him, let him say : ' May God lead you in the right way and make good your condition ' . In the Hadith also it is written that he who sneezes three consecutive times, faith is solid in his heart. It is reported, too, in the Hadith that if one sneezes more than three times, you can utter a prayer for him if you like, and if you like you may dispense with it. . . . It is reported that the Prophet—peace be with him—said : ' Sneezing is from God and yawning is from Satan. If some one from amongst you yawns, let him put his hand on his mouth ; and if he says : Ah, ah, Satan will laugh ' in his belly ' (or) ' within him ' .

Fol. 139a :—

" ' Abdallah b. 'Umar is reported to have said that to swear by a thing other than God is an infidelity. He said also : ' Nobody is allowed to swear except in case of necessity ' . It is written in the Shir'ah : ' He who wishes to swear in truth, let him swear by God and be quiet. An oath taken by a thing other than God is a hidden infidelity. Let no one swear by his father, or by the life of somebody, or by the Ka'bah, or by his swerving from Islâm ; because he who does that truly will not return to Islâm safely ; and if he swears mendaciously, infidelity will cling to him ' . In the *Hidâyah* (title

¹ Title of a work written by Suhrawardi.

of a well-known work) it is written : 'An oath taken in the name of God is right and lawful' ; there also is the following saying of (the Prophet)—peace be with him—'He who swears falsely by God, God will get him into the fire.'

From fol. 146a :—

"Hospitality is one of the ways of acting in Islām. If a man enters, as a guest, the house of his brother who is a believer, a thousand blessings and a thousand mercies enter with him. The first man who received guests is the Beloved One of God—peace be with him. He had built a house with four gates looking in the four directions of the earth. He used to go one mile or two miles in search of a guest. He did not eat (or, did not go away)¹ except with a guest. He did not show, in his hospitality, any preference to the rich, by excluding the poor. He used to know his guests with accuracy one day or two days before his invitation. He did not call from one family the father without the son and the brother, if they were grown up. . . . He never invited a man who, to his knowledge, would cause uneasiness to the other guests."

On fol. 56a we read the following passage written about Sūrah XXXIII, v. 9 sqq. :—

"The story runs thus : When the Prophet of God—may God pray on him and give him peace—returned from a certain conflict with one of the brave of Madinah, he made a covenant with Bani Kuraidhah and Nadhir² that they should not be for him nor against him ; but they broke their engagement in the following manner : Hayya b. Akhtab rode to Maccah with some of his companions and stirred up Abu Sufiān to fight against the Prophet. Then he went to Ghāṭafān and bani Kinānah and incited them also for the battle. In this way he formed seven armies which numbered, it is said, fifteen thousand men, who came and alighted near Madinah. Then (b. Akhtab) came to Bani Kuraidhah who had for chieftain Ka'b b. Asad. He went to him and said : 'I have brought you all Kuraish, Kinānah, and Ghāṭafān ; break, therefore, the covenant which exists between you and Muhammad'. He did not cease until (Ka'b) broke the covenant and tore up the paper.

¹ The MS. has بقطر, but this may be a mistake for بقطير.

² MS. but fol. 56b النمير النميري.

"The news reached the Prophet—peace be with him—who consulted his companions ; they agreed to fight against them and to leave Madinah. Then Salmān rose up and said : ' Did we not entrench ourselves, in the land of Persia, when horses frightened us ? Do not you want us, O Prophet of God—peace be with you—to dig trenches round Madinah ? ' Then the Prophet of God—peace be with him—went out with the inhabitants of Madinah, and the Prophet of God—peace be with him—took a pickaxe in his hands and said the formula : ' In the name of God with whom we began ; if we had another one besides him, we should have been unhappy ' . They dug trenches, and the *Companions* came and went to the back of them. They fought seven days. From the Infidels 'Amr b. 'Abduwaihi was killed ; he was a warrior from amongst their chieftains. It is in that time that the Prophet of God—peace be with him—missed four of his prayers, on account of his occupation in the war. . . ."

STEPS TOWARDS THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

THE appeal which we made in our last issue on behalf of the devastated library of the University of Louvain, has met with a most encouraging response from all classes of the community, not only in this country but in many parts of the world, even as far away as Natal.

This result has been obtained largely through the valuable assistance which has been rendered by the press, in giving to our appeal a publicity it would have been impossible to secure in any other way.

Already upwards of three thousand volumes have been either received or definitely promised, whilst each day brings with it fresh offers of assistance.

These gifts alone form an excellent beginning of the new library, yet, when it is realized that the collection of books so ruthlessly destroyed at Louvain numbered nearly a quarter of a million of volumes, it will be evident that if the work of replacement which we have undertaken is to be accomplished, very much more remains to be done.

It is true that much of the mischief done in Louvain and elsewhere in Belgium is beyond repair, but some of it may be remedied or at least mitigated by those who feel sympathy with our noble and self-sacrificing ally in the hour of her affliction. It is therefore with the utmost confidence that we renew our appeal for help in this endeavour to restore, at least in some measure, the resources of the crippled University, by the provision of a library adequate in every respect to meet the requirements of the case, so as to be in readiness for the happy time when she will return to her old home.

We find it impossible to agree with the opinion expressed in a recent letter to the Editor of "The Spectator," to the effect that the result of our action will be to relieve Germany of an obligation which she should be forced to fulfil on the conclusion of peace.

On the contrary, we believe that our action will probably do more

than anything else to keep the attention of the public and also of the authorities alive to the justice of insisting, when the time is ripe, that Germany shall not only disgorge everything which she has looted, in defiance of the rules of civilized warfare, but that she shall replace from German libraries the equivalent of the treasures she has so deliberately and senselessly destroyed.

It is unlikely, as the result of our appeal, that we should be able to offer the equivalent of the thousand manuscripts which were either destroyed or removed from Louvain. That equivalent must be exacted from Germany, by means of a toll upon her rich collections at Berlin, Munich, Dresden, and elsewhere. And what is true in respect of manuscripts applies with equal force to the other departments of the Louvain library, including the "incunabula," many of which may be actually replaced from the collection at Berlin. It must, however, be carefully borne in mind that the object of this toll is to make amends. It must on no account be allowed to develop into actions of reprisal.

Even assuming that the library will be restored in this way, is that a sufficient reason why we should be deprived of the privilege and pleasure of assisting in the work of reconstruction and development?

We entertain the hope that the new library, which is already rising phoenix-like out of the ashes of the old one, will be far richer and more glorious than its predecessor; and we are anxious that the agencies through which this is to be accomplished should be as widely representative as possible.

To this end we welcome the statement made by Sir Frederick Kenyon, that a Committee is in process of formation under the leadership of Viscount Bryce, the President of the British Academy, to co-operate with the Institut de France in the formation of an International Committee for the restoration of the Louvain Library. This, as Sir Frederick points out, will provide for the co-ordination of the efforts which are apparently being put forth in many directions to bring about the same result.

It may not be out of place to explain, that when we made our appeal we were unaware that similar proposals had been made by several societies and institutions, although no definite steps or public announcements in respect of them had been made. For example the Classical Association had made an appeal to its members to assist in

the reconstruction of the classical side of the library, whilst the University of Manchester had decided to set aside a set of the publications of the University Press, together with a considerable number of duplicates from the Christie Library, proposing at the same time to invite the co-operation of other universities. For various reasons definite action was postponed for a while, and in the meantime we, unconscious of these decisions, ventured to launch the present scheme, which originated in the manner described in our appeal.

We cannot regret our action, since it has revealed to us how very widespread is the desire to give tangible proof to the people of Belgium of the high and affectionate regard in which we hold them, and honour them for their incomparable bravery and for the heroic sacrifices which they have made in the honourable determination to remain true to their pledges of neutrality, by indignantly refusing to listen to Germany's infamous proposals. We owe more to that great little nation of Belgium than we can ever repay, and it is fitting that we should seize this opportunity of repaying a portion of our debts, by making good, as far as in us lies, one of the crimes against humanity of which the German army has been guilty.

We cannot refrain from quoting a few passages from the letter which reached us a few days ago from Professor Van der Essen, the writer of the article upon the Library of Louvain, which appeared in our last issue, who has but recently returned from Chicago to Cambridge, revealing as it does the attitude of gratefulness and appreciation of those in whose interest this appeal is made. Here are our correspondent's own words : "Writing as a professor of the University of Louvain let me thank you for all that you have done for us since the crime of Louvain. It is such a wonderful thing in this time of horror to see how the scholars of all the countries—the central empires excepted, alas!—have manifested their friendship, and proved to us by so many deeds and words that scientific international solidarity is still alive. Especially has England done splendid work, and among that work I rank your . . . initiative as one of the most—if not the most effective. I had, indeed, opportunity in America to see what your appeal was bringing forth, and how by your kind intermediary practical help was being prepared. It is noble work you are doing, work that will have a fine result, and I can assure you that never will the University of Louvain forget that the appeal went out from Manchester. . . . I hope to have the pleasure to come

. . . and to witness the rebirth of our poor library, on the very soil of your splendid and glorious country. 'Kultur' has destroyed the treasures of Louvain : it is a fact full of consequence that what has been destroyed, will have been restored by the kind intermediary of one of the celebrated centres of English culture."

The Belgian Minister of Justice, accompanied by Count Goblet d'Alviella, on the occasion of a visit which they paid to Manchester in order to speak words of comfort and confidence to the large number of their refugee compatriots who have found a temporary home in our midst, found time to pay a visit to the library, and we noted with pleasure how very much surprised and impressed they were to find in the heart of Manchester the new library of the University of Louvain actually in process of formation.

At the half yearly meeting of the Court of Governors of the National Library of Wales our scheme was explained by the Librarian, and a resolution was passed commending it, and referring the matter to the Books Committee with a request that they should consider how far the National Library could assist, and directing that invitations to join in the movement be sent to all members of the Court. In like manner the Lisbon Academy of Sciences, at its meeting in June, decided, on the motion of Mr. Edgar Prestage, whose name will be known to many of our readers, to co-operate with us by sending not only a set of their own publications, but any others which might be entrusted to them for the purpose.

Many other resolutions of the same cordial nature have been notified to us, accompanied by definite offers of books. The University of Aberdeen, as a first instalment, have offered about one hundred and fifty volumes of their duplicates. The Committee of the Liverpool University Press have promised a set of their publications, numbering upwards of a hundred volumes. The University of Durham have allowed us to make a selection from their duplicates, and we have taken full advantage of the permission by marking some hundreds of volumes, which are of a character it would be difficult to acquire in any other way. Numerous offers have been made by private individuals, and in most cases have been gratefully accepted. The names are too numerous to quote, but they will be recorded in due course when the books have actually been received. We must not omit to refer to one other gift, which we have actually received, but

with which we have as yet, through pressure of other work, been unable to deal ; it is a collection of some hundreds of volumes presented by the family of the late Sir Charles Nicholson, through the kind offices of Mr. Charles W. Sutton.

This report has lengthened out far beyond the dimensions to which we had intended to restrict it, and yet not half the story has been told. Realizing, however, that there is a limit to the endurance of our readers we have decided to reserve all further information until our next issue.

In the following pages we have given a list of the works actually received, with the names of the donors of the respective groups, to whom in the name of the Governors of the Library, and of the Authorities of the University of Louvain, we renew the expressions of gratitude and appreciation which we have already forwarded in another form.

The following gifts have been received since the issue of the appeal in the last issue of the Bulletin.

THE REV. DENDY AGATE, of Bowdon.

EPICTETUS. *Enchiridium una cum Cebetis tabula Graec. et Lat. Cum notis Wolfii . . . et aliorum. A. Berkelius textum recensuit. Delphis Batavorum, 1683. 8vo.*

PHAEDRUS. *Fabularum Aesopiarum libri V. Cum integris commentariis . . . et excerptis aliorum. Curante P. Burmanno. Lugduni-in-Batavis, 1728. 8vo.*

TERENTIUS AFER (Publius) Comoediae sex. Ex recensione Heinsiana. Amstelaedami, [n.d.]. 12mo.

MISS E. M. BARLOW, of Marple.

CABASSUTIUS (Joannes) Notitia ecclesiastica, historiarum, conciliorum et canonum. Secunda [ed.] in Germania. Bambergae, 1754. Fol.

SIR PERCY E. BATES, Bart., of Hinderton Hall, Neston.

CHAUCER (Geoffrey) The Works. Edited by F. S. Ellis. Ornamented with pictures designed by Sir E. Burne-Jones (Kelmscott Press). Hammersmith, 1896. Fol.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EARL BEAUCHAMP, K.G.

HENRY VIII, King of England. Songs, ballads, and instrumental pieces composed by King Henry the Eighth. Reproduced from the Brit. Mus. MS. 31922. Collected by the Lady M. Trefusis . . . [Roxburghe Club]. Oxford, 1912. 4to.

**MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY OF THE LATE JOHN BELLOWES,
ESQ., of Gloucester.**

BELLOWES (John) *Pocket Dictionary of French and English, English and French.* Second edition. Revised by A. Beljame. *London, Gloucester, 1911.* 12mo.

— *Dictionary of French and English, English and French.* Revised and enlarged by his son W. Bellows. Second edition. *London, [Gloucester printed], 1914.* 8vo.

— *John Bellows letters and memoir.* Edited by his wife (E. Bellows). Third impression. *London, [Gloucester printed], [1905].* 8vo.

BELLOWES (Max) *Dictionary of German and English, English and German.* Second edition. *London, [Gloucester printed], 1915.* 8vo.

MACLAREN (Ian) *The days of Auld Langsyne.* Second edition. *London, 1895.* 8vo.

PRICE (M. Philips) *Siberia.* *London, [1912].* 8vo.

STEPHEN (Caroline Emelia) *Quaker strongholds.* Fourth edition. *London, 1907.* 8vo.

MR. and MRS. J. LAIRD BUSK, of Westerham, Kent.

BIBLE.—GERMAN. *Der erste psalm Davids. . . . Nach der dolmetzung D. M. Luthers.* *Wittemberg, 1524.* 4to.

BIBLE.—GERMAN. *Der Cl. Psalm. Durch D. Mar. Luth. Ausgelegt.* *Wittemberg, 1534.* 4to.

BIBLE.—GERMAN. *Das siebēd Capitel S. Pauli zu den Chorinthern* Ausgelegt durch M. Luther. *Wittemberg, 1523.* 4to.

CASSIANUS. *Die vier undzweinczig guldin harpffen.* *Augsburg: Bamler, 1472.* 4to.

CELLINI (Benvenuto) *Vita di Benvenuto Cellini orefice e scultore Fiorentino, da lui medesimo scritta.* *[Naples, 1728].* 4to.

[KLOPSTOCK (Friedrich Gottlieb)] *Der Messias.* *Halle im M., 3 vols. in 2.* 8vo.

— *Ode an Gott.* *[Halle im M. ?], 1751.* 8vo.

LUTHER (Martin) *Ain Sermon von dem gebeet un̄ procession in der Creützwochen. . . .* *[Augsburg ? 1520 ?]* 4to.

THOMPSON (B.) *Count Rumford. Essays, political, economical and philosophical.* The first American . . . edition. *Boston, 1798-99.* 2 vols. 8vo.

MISS CLAYDEN, of Ipswich.

RUSKIN (John) *Modern painters.* New edition. *[Edinburgh and London], 1897.* 6 vols. 8vo.

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DR. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, of Britford.

CEYLON: Colombo Museum. Memoirs . . . edited by J. Pearson. Series A, No. 1, Bronzes from Ceylon . . . by A. K. Coomaraswamy. *Ceylon, [Oxford printed]*, 1914. 4to.

COOMARASWAMY (Ananda K.) Mediaeval Sinhalese Art. *Broad Campden, Gloucestershire*, 1907-1908. 4to.

— Selected examples of India Art. [With portfolio of plates.] *Broad Campden, Gloucestershire*, 1910. Fol.

EDDA. Völuspa: done into English out of the Icelandic by A. K. Coomaraswamy. *Broad Campden, Gloucestershire*, 1909. 8vo.

MUHAMMAD RIZĀ NAUĪ. Burning and melting being the Sūz-u-Gudāz . . . translated by M. Y. Dawud and A. K. Coomaraswamy. *London*, 1912. 8vo.

RATAN DEVI. Thirty songs from the Panjab and Kashmir: with introduction and translations by A. K. Coomaraswamy. *London*, 1913. 4to.

VIDYĀPATI. Vidyāpati: Bangīya Padābali . . . translated into English by A. Coomaraswamy and Arun Sen. *London*, 1915. 4to.

ViSVAKARMĀ. Visvakarmā: examples of Indian architecture, sculpture . . . chosen by A. K. Coomaraswamy. First series. *[London]*, 1914. 4to.

THE REV. H. E. CRANE, of Kingswood School.

M. (R.) Commentarium de Rebellione Anglicana ab anno 1640. Usque ad annum 1685. *Londini*, 1686. 8vo.

RALEIGH (Sir Walter) The marrow of historie, . . . now abreviated by A. R. *London*, 1650. 16mo.

PROFESSOR T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, LL.D., Ph.D.

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* * There is also an engraved title in each vol.

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BULLETIN

OF

THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY MANCHESTER



VOL. 2

No. 4

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DECEMBER

1915

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BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
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VOL. 2

OCTOBER-DECEMBER, 1915

No. 4

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

THE third list of contributions to the new library for the University of Louvain, which we print elsewhere in the present issue, furnishes fresh and unmistakable evidence of the generous and widespread interest which our appeal on behalf of the crippled university has called forth.

Already upwards of five thousand volumes have been either received or definitely promised, and there are other equally generous promises of help which have yet to materialize. This is an excellent beginning, but, as we pointed out in our last issue, very much more remains to be done if the work of replacement which we have inaugurated is to be accomplished.

It is with the utmost confidence, therefore, that we renew and emphasize our appeal for help.

We are glad to be able to announce that three of the publications of the library which have been for several years in an active state of preparation, are now actually in circulation, and may be obtained from the publishers whose names appear on the cover of the "Bulletin," or through any bookseller. The most important of the three is:—

CATALOGUE OF GREEK PAPYRI in the JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY. By A. S. Hunt, Litt.D., J. de M. Johnson, M.A., and Victor Martin, D. ès L. Volume 2 : "Documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods". (Nos. 62-456). 4to, pp. xx, 487, with twenty-three plates of facsimiles. (Price one guinea, net.)

This volume is the result of more than five years of persistent labour on the part of Dr. Hunt and his two associate editors. The volume, which runs to upwards of 500 pages, deals with nearly 400 papyri, consisting mainly of non-literary documents of an official or legal character, extending from the Ptolemaic to the Roman period, as dis-

tinguished from the literary documents, forming the subject-matter of the first volume, which appeared in 1911.

The chief interest centres in the description of the collection of carbonized papyri of Thmuis. These papyri were found, says Dr. Hunt, as well as others of the same group in various European collections, without doubt in the ruined buildings of Thmuis (Tell Timai), partly excavated by the expedition of the Egypt Exploration Fund during the season 1892-3, whose chambers were found choked by a medley of decayed rolls, and it is interesting to learn that the documents printed in this volume form the largest body yet published from this source.

For the student of New Testament Greek the volume contains much that is of interest. Professor J. H. Moulton, by carefully sifting the material as the sheets passed through the press, succeeded in obtaining many new words for his forthcoming "Vocabulary of the Greek Testament". The student of the history of the period covered by this group of documents, especially in relation to law, economics, and taxation in Egypt during the Roman occupation, will also find a mass of extremely useful information, not only in the documents themselves, but in the exhaustive and illuminating notes by which they are accompanied. Whilst to the palæographical student the excellent facsimiles with the typographical transliterations should prove of great service.

The texts which are printed *in extenso* are accompanied by translations, extensive notes and commentaries, twenty-three plates of facsimiles in collotype of forty-five of the documents, and most elaborate indexes.

It may not be out of place, whilst calling attention to our own Catalogue of Greek papyri, briefly to refer to the new OXYRHYNCHUS volume of the "Oxyrhynchus Papyri," the publication PAPYRI. of which synchronises with our own. This eleventh volume, issued by the Greco-Roman Branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund, and edited by Dr. B. P. Grenfell and Professor A. S. Hunt, consists, with one exception, of literary pieces of considerable importance, found at various dates since 1897. The exception is "one of the most interesting documents concerning the early Egyptian Church," furnishing as it does a list of services at various churches on Sundays, festivals, and apparently on other days, of five months in a particular year, which can be definitely fixed as A.D. 535-6. Other theological fragments

include short passages from several of the Epistles, but apparently of no great textual value.

The classical discoveries include fragments of Hesiod and Bacchylides, the latter being represented by two substantial pieces of scolia or convivial songs; some twenty-four elegiacs from the "Aetia" of Callimachus (1st cent.); a passage on the nature of justice by Antiphon, a contemporary of Socrates; and nearly two complete columns on the history of Sicyon (3rd cent.). Of extant texts there are papyri of parts of Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and others, but the most important are portions of Thucydides VII (2nd-3rd cent.), furnishing new readings which will be much appreciated by experts of the text of Thucydides.

The feature of this volume which has afforded us the greatest pleasure, is the reappearance of the name of Dr. Grenfell upon the title page. Dr. Grenfell, we are glad to learn, has made a splendid recovery, and we hope that for many years he may be permitted to continue his researches in the field of scholarship, which he and his colleague, Dr. A. S. Hunt, have so peculiarly made their own, and that their researches may be crowned with new successes not unworthy of comparison with those which they have already to their credit.

The second of the library publications which has just made its appearance is:—

SUMERIAN TABLETS FROM UMMA IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY. . . . Transcribed, transliterated, and translated by C. L. Bedale, M.A. . . . With a Foreword by Canon C. H. W. Johns, M.A., Litt.D. 4to, pp. xvi, 16, with ten facsimiles. (Price five shillings, net).

This thin quarto consists of a description of fifty-eight tablets, forming part of the collection acquired by the library some years ago, at the suggestion of the late Professor Hogg and Canon Johns. The work of cataloguing and editing the collection was to have been undertaken by Professor Hogg, but death intervened before he was able seriously to enter upon it. Mr. Bedale, one of Professor Hogg's students, who succeeded him as Lecturer in Assyriology at the University of Manchester, very gladly and readily stepped into the breach, and with the assistance of Canon Johns has produced a piece of work which does the editor infinite credit.

The volume is of considerable interest, since it makes available for study the first batch of tablets from this particular site at Umma, and that interest has been further enhanced by the Foreword contributed by Canon Johns, in which he describes the nature of the transactions recorded.

The third publication to make its appearance is a portfolio of facsimiles of eight early engravings, which are preserved in the John Rylands Library, under the title :—

WOODCUTS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY. Reproduced in facsimile. With an introduction and descriptive notes by Campbell Dodgson, M.A. Folio. Ten plates, of which two are in colour, and 16 pp. of text, in a portfolio. (Price seven shillings and sixpence.)

In addition to its fine collection of printed books of the fifteenth century, the library contains a small but precious collection of the woodcuts and metal cuts that were issued separately in large numbers in the early part of the same period, chiefly as aids to devotion.

Two of these woodcuts are of exceptional interest and importance, and have been known and celebrated for a century and a half, but have not hitherto been reproduced in a satisfactory manner, by any of the modern photo-mechanical processes. The two woodcuts referred to represent "St. Christopher" and "The Annunciation," the former of which has acquired a great celebrity by reason of the date (1423) which it bears, and which, until recently, gave to it the unchallenged position of the first dated woodcut.

Since the discovery in 1845, at Malines, of another woodcut representing "The Virgin and Child," and bearing the date 1418, which was afterwards acquired for the Royal Library at Brussels, and has, it is to be hoped, escaped the fury of the modern Vandals, the St. Christopher, in the estimation of some of the authorities, has lost its position. This view is shared by Mr. Dodgson, but there are other authorities who have a strong suspicion that the date in the Brussels print has been faked, if not added later, since the character of the lettering in the date differs entirely from that found in the untouched ribbon scrolls, containing inscriptions, in the picture itself.

These and many other points of great interest have been dealt with by Mr. Campbell Dodgson, Keeper of the Prints and Drawings

in the British Museum, the recognized authority on such matters, who kindly undertook to write the introduction and descriptive notes, and in so doing has greatly added to the value and importance of the publication.

The "St. Christopher" and "The Annunciation" have been reproduced in the exact colours of the originals, as well as in monochrome, and the difficulty experienced in obtaining satisfactory results in the coloured reproductions, accounts, to some extent, for the delay which has attended the publication of this fourth issue of the series of "The John Rylands Facsimiles". The water-colour sketches, which formed the basis of the colour reproductions, were prepared under the direction of Mr. Richard Glazier, the Principal of the Manchester School of Art, to whom we offer our grateful thanks.

In the course of the examination and description of the library's collection of Arabic manuscripts, numbering upwards of 800 volumes, upon which Dr. Alphonse Mingana is at present engaged, many of them have been invested with a new importance, by reason of the exceptional palaeographical and textual interest which they have been found to possess. In recent issues of the "Bulletin" attention has been called to copies of the "Kur'an," which are likely to excite considerable interest with regard to the text of the Mohammedan scriptures. In our next issue we shall publish a further article from the pen of Dr. Mingana, in which he will describe another manuscript, probably unique, by Ibn Bābawaih al-Ķummi, dealing with Moslem beliefs and practices. There is a glamour of romance and humour surrounding many of the stories translated by Dr. Mingana, which, together with the information regarding the rewards for good deeds, and the punishments for infractions of conduct, reserved for the followers of Mohammed, will make interesting and instructive reading.

The object of the present note, however, is to call attention to the most recent, and certainly the most important of Dr. Mingana's finds. The manuscript referred to is a volume of modest appearance and dimensions, the provenance of which it is now impossible to determine, since there is no record of when and how it came into the possession of the late Earl of Crawford, from whom it was acquired, with the other manuscript collections, in 1902. It consists of an apology of Islām, by a learned Muhammadan doctor, named 'Ali b. Rabbān at-

AN UNRE-
CORDED
APOLOGY
OF ISLAM-
ISM.

Tabari, the importance of which may be gleaned from the following notes furnished by Dr. Mingana.

The ninth century of the Christian era is marked by numerous apologetic works by Christians and Muhammadans, who lived not far from Baghdad, the capital of the 'Abbâside dynasty of the Eastern caliphate. The names of Abu Nûh, Timotheus the Patriarch, and Ishak al-Kindi, among Christian apologists are known by all interested in oriental learning. In particular the "Apology of the Christian Faith," by Al-Kindi can hardly be ignored by any educated Muslim, or by any educated Christian living with Muslims. But, as far as we are aware, hitherto no such an apology of Islâm of so early a date and of such outstanding importance, by a Muhammadan has been known to exist. It is, therefore, a source of great pleasure to be able to announce that a work similar to that of Al-Kindi, dated A.H. 616, has been found in our collection. The work is of first-rate importance to the Muslim, and not of less importance to every oriental scholar, whilst to anyone interested in theological questions it must have an interest. It follows generally the apology of Al-Kindi, which the author probably intended to refute. The work contains about 130 long Biblical quotations to prove the divine mission of the Arabian prophet. These quotations follow the Syriac Version of the Bible, said, in the manuscript, to have been translated by an unknown author called "Marcus the Interpreter". If this Marcus may be identified with the Marcus mentioned in the "Fihrist" (p. 306), and among the writers preceding the time of the Prophet, the book would become of paramount importance for many questions dealing with the redaction of the Kur'an. The Syriac word *Mshabbha*, "the Glorious," wherever occurring in the Old Testament, is translated in Arabic by the word *Muhammad*. It is possible, therefore, that the Prophet having heard this word pronounced, wrote (S. vii, 156, etc.) that his name was found in the Sacred Books of the Christians and the Jews.

The writer is the physician and moralist 'Ali b. Rabbân at-Tabari, who died about A.D. 864. He wrote his book at the request of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (847-861), at Baghdad in the year A.D. 850. The manuscript is a transcript of the autograph of Tabari himself, and is certainly the most seriously written book on the apologetic theme existing in our days.

The Governors of the Library have in contemplation the publication of an edition of the Arabic text, accompanied by an English translation, upon which Dr. Mingana is at present actively engaged. If it be true, that every faithful follower of Muhammad will desire to possess a copy of this manual as soon as it is brought to his notice, as we are assured will be the case, our printers and publishers are likely to be kept busy for some time to come.

In the present issue we print an interesting description of an important thirteenth century Latin Summary of the *SUMMARY OF THE SENTENCES OF PETER LOMBARD*, forming part of a small collection of similar manuscripts in two volumes, which according to the inscriptions found here and there in the volumes themselves, belonged at one time to the Cistercian Monastery of Camborne, in the Diocese of Cambray. It was later and until recently in the possession of Mr. George Dunn, of Woolley Hall, Maidenhead, and at the dispersal of his manuscripts, which took place in 1913, it passed into the custody of this library.

Hitherto the manuscript appears to have escaped the attention of scholars, and we are indebted to the Rev. Raymond M. Martin, O.P., for its identification, and also for permitting us to publish the results of his scholarly examination of a text which should be of considerable importance to those who are interested in the history of mediæval theology.

Father Martin, a Professor of Louvain, has been in England since the occupation of Louvain by the Germans, but he has now returned, feeling that his duty is amongst his own people, to succour, and to minister to such of them as remain in the devastated city.

For some time Father Martin has been engaged in the collection of materials for an edition of the works of the mediæval philosopher and theologian, Robert de Melun, which he *ROBERT DE MELUN*, has in contemplation. Robert de Melun, who is little known to-day, was born in England. At an early age he proceeded to Paris, to study under Hugues de Saint Victor, and Abélard. In course of time he was made professor, and taught, first at the École de Sainte-Geneviève, and later at Melun. In 1163 he was consecrated Bishop of Hereford, which office he occupied until his removal by death, on the 28th February, 1167.

Father Martin has already published two monographs upon the

subject : "Les idées de Robert de Melun sur le péché original," 1913, and "La nécessité de croire. Le mystère de la très Sainte-Trinité, d'après Robert de Melun," 1913, copies of which he has presented to the library. Other articles on the works of this author are to appear in the forthcoming numbers of the "Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques," "Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique," and "La Ciencia Tomista".

In the last letter received from Father Martin, written on the eve of his return to Louvain, he requested us to announce that he would be most grateful for any information, based upon manuscript sources, as bearing upon Robert de Melun and his works. Needless to say we shall be glad to receive any communications that any of our readers may wish to make, and to transmit them to Father Martin when the opportunity occurs.

Amongst the most recent accessions to the library, we have received the two first fasciculi of a magnificent work by REIMS M. Paul Vitry, entitled "La Cathédrale de Reims : CATHE DR L. architecture et sculpture," which, when completed will comprise 225 plates excellently reproduced in héliogravure, accompanied by an historical and descriptive introduction, and a bibliography, together with plans and other documents showing the actual state of the damaged parts of this chef-d'œuvre of French architecture.

It is fortunate that the collection of materials for this great work had been completed before the Vandals had commenced their work of studied demolition, and that we have had preserved for all time a pictorial record of this truly national sanctuary, which represents the richest example of Gothic art at its best period, and at the same time the most varied example of French sculpture of the thirteenth century, when it had arrived at its supreme monumental expression.

The words in which M. Vitry dedicates his work to the public are well worth quoting :—

" . . . nous voudrions que ce livre-ci fût surtout et d'abord un hommage pieux au chef d'œuvre, victime d'un attentat odieux, qu'il fixât à jamais le souvenir des parties qui ont été ravagées, glorifiant celles, nombreuses heureusement, qui ont échappé à la dévastation et qui seront d'autant plus célèbres, d'autant plus consultées et admirées par les générations à venir."

There is another work amongst the recent accessions, which is deserving of notice at a time when the thoughts of the ^{UNIVERSITY} intellectual world turn in sympathy to Louvain, which ^{SITY}. has been appropriately described as the "martyr city," and which will be welcomed by many of our readers, especially by those who have so generously responded to our appeals for help in our efforts to assist in the repair of one corner of that devastated area. The work to which we refer is : "L'Université de Louvain : Conférences données au Collège de France en Février, 1915". By Paul Delannoy. As the title indicates it reproduces the lectures which M. Delannoy, Professor and Librarian of the University of Louvain, delivered at the Collège de France, to large and enthusiastic audiences, in the early part of the year. The author has sketched for us, in a brief, but most attractive manner, the principal episodes of the history of the University from its foundation in the fifteenth century to the present time. He tells us that it was reckoned amongst the most vital intellectual forces of the nation, and was at the same time one of the most ardent centres of patriotism.

Under the will of the late Mr. Thomas Kay, J.P., of Stockport, there has been bequeathed to the library the portrait of THE SO-CALLED GRAFTON PORTRAIT OF SHAKESPEARE. a young man, which without reasonable evidence has been described as the "Grafton Portrait of Shakespeare". In accepting the bequest we are under no illusions as to the iconographic value of the painting. Since, however, it has already obtained a certain notoriety in the press, it is as well that it should be preserved in some public institution, where it will be accessible to any of the experts or others interested in the subject, who may wish to satisfy themselves as to the fallacy of the attribution.

The story of how the picture came into the possession of Mr. Kay, and of his subsequent efforts to identify the portrait with Shakespeare, is told in a little volume which has just made its appearance, under the title : "The Story of the Grafton Portrait of Shakespeare : with an account of the sack and destruction of the Manor of Grafton Regis, 1643". By Thomas Kay.

The book is a piece of special pleading, in which there is little evidence to justify the deductions arrived at. The Keeper of the National Portrait Gallery, to whom the panel was known, and who had examined and condemned it several years before it was brought

to the notice of Mr. Kay, warned that gentleman of the cool and vain attempts which had been made from time to time to identify the portrait with Shakespeare, but without avail.

However, it is self-evident that Mr. Kay conscientiously believed in his "find," but that he was completely misled leaves, unfortunately, no possibility for doubt.

The exhibition of manuscripts and early printed books, which was specially arranged in the show cases of the library, on the occasion of the visit of the British Association in September last, will remain on view until March next, when it will be replaced by a selection of the works of EXHIBITION
OF MANU-
SCRIPTS
AND EARLY
PRINTED
BOOKS. Shakespeare and his contemporaries, to commemorate the tercentenary of the death of our national poet.

In the present exhibition may be seen some of the most famous of the library's possessions in oriental and western manuscripts, illustrating the art and craft of the scribe and the illuminator during the Middle Ages. Side by side with these are examples of the block-books, and the earliest type-printed books, in which also the library is so well equipped. Indeed, it is possible, by means of this exhibition, to trace the evolution of the materials and methods which have been employed from the earliest times down to the close of the fifteenth century, for the preservation and transmission of knowledge from one age to another.

We have been able, also, by means of this exhibition, to render some assistance to the Education Committee of Manchester in their efforts to provide means of instruction for the scholars who have been dislodged through the taking over by the military authorities of so many of the schools to serve as hospitals. The course adopted has been to invite groups of teachers to the library for a demonstration upon portions of the exhibition, so as to provide them with the necessary material, with which, in turn, they may each give a demonstration, around the show cases, to their respective classes. In this way a large number of young people have been brought into touch with the library, and it is impossible to estimate the good that may result from these visits, affording, as they do in so many cases, peeps into an entirely new world, which will add a new interest and reality to their studies.

Since the publication of our last issue, another of our colleagues has joined His Majesty's forces, in the person of Mr. S. O. Moffet, M.A., one of the senior assistants. He has joined the Motor Transport Branch of the Army Service Corps, and having qualified, is daily expecting to be sent to the front.

THE LIB-
RARY'S
ROLL OF
HONOUR.

We are glad to be able to report that, according to the latest reports, our colleagues who are on active service are all safe. Lieutenant O. J. Sutton, who received his commission immediately after the declaration of war, accompanied the 9th Manchester Regiment to the Dardanelles, and was sent back wounded, after seeing considerable service. He has since recovered, and is again on active service. We are proud to learn that he has been mentioned in dispatches by Sir Ian Hamilton, for distinguished service, has received his second star, and is recommended for the Military Cross.

The present issue will be found to contain the third section of the list of the most important of the recent accessions to the library, which deals exclusively with the additions to the department of History, accompanied by the promised combined author index to all three sections.

LIST OF
RECENT AC-
CESSIONS.

Of Professor Tout's lecture entitled "A Mediaeval Burglary," which also appears in the present issue, a limited number of reprints in separate form have been published, and may be had of the usual agents, at the price of sixpence.

A MEDI-
AEVAL
BURGLARY.

With our next issue we shall commence a new volume, so that the volumes may not be too unwieldy. We have therefore included in the present and concluding part of the second volume a title page with table of contents, to enable those of our readers who may wish to preserve their copies to bind them.

OUR NEXT
ISSUE.

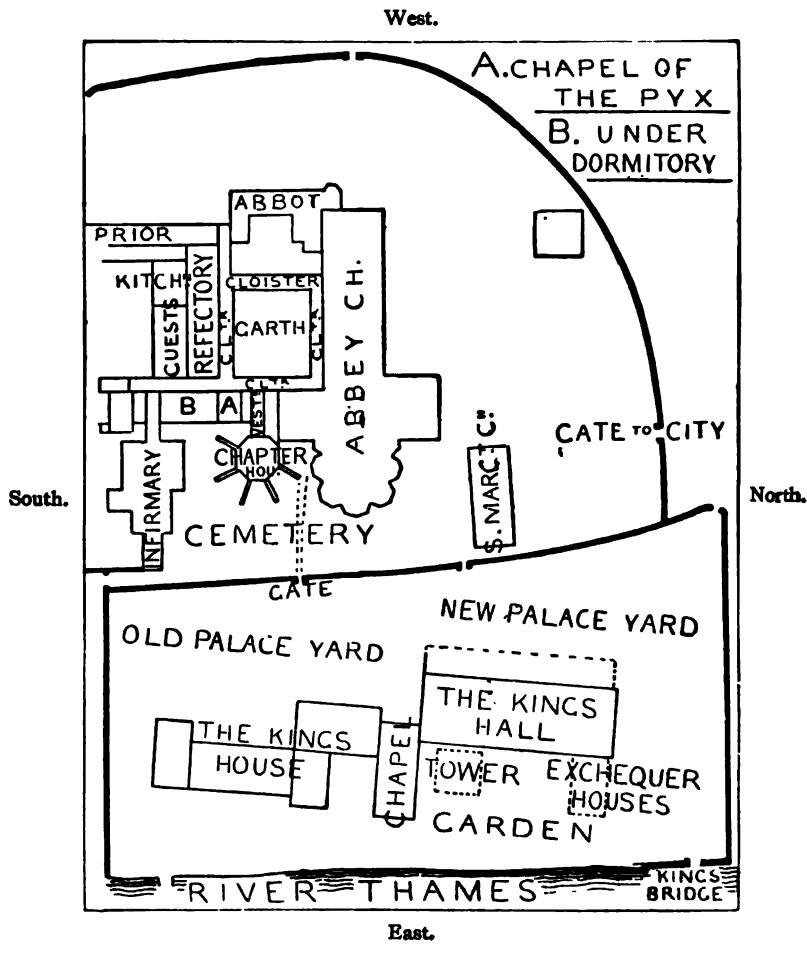
A MEDIAEVAL BURGLARY.¹

BY T. F. TOUT, M.A., F.B.A., BISHOP FRASER PROFESSOR OF MEDIAEVAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

THE burglary, about which I have to speak to-night, I did not discover by ransacking the picturesque and humorous annals of mediaeval crime. I came across the details of this incident when seeking for something quite different, for it happened when I was attempting to investigate the technicalities of the history of the administrative department known as the king's Wardrobe. But so human a story did something to cheer up the weary paths of Dryasdust, and he hands it on to you in the hope that you will not find it absolutely wanting in instruction and amusement. Now my burglary was the burglary of the king's treasury, or more precisely, of the treasury of the king's wardrobe, within the precincts of the abbey at Westminster. The date of the event was 24 April, 1303. More precisely, according to the chief burglar's own account, it was on the evening of that day that the burglar effected an entrance into the king's treasury, from which, he tells us he escaped, with as much booty as he could carry, on the morning of 26 April. Who had committed the burglary is a problem which was not quite settled, even by the trials which followed the offence, though these trials resulted in the hanging of some half a dozen people at least. But after the hanging of the half-dozen, it was still maintained in some quarters that the burglary was committed by one robber only, though charges of complicity in his guilt were in common fame extended to something like a hundred individuals. And in this case common fame was not, I think, at fault.

I wish first of all to explain the meaning of the sentence, rather cryptic to the generality, in which I spoke of my burglary as that of the robbery of the treasury of the king's wardrobe within Westminster

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on 20 January, 1915.



Abbey. For this purpose I must ask you to carry your minds back to the Westminster of the early years of the fourteenth century. Westminster was then what Kensington was in the eighteenth or early nineteenth century, a court suburb, aloof from the traffic and business of the great city of London. Now the twin centres of Westminster were the king's palace and the adjacent Benedictine Abbey. The rough plan, which I am permitted to print on the opposite page, will show the close relation of the two great groups of buildings. It was much closer in many ways than the relations between the Houses of Parliament, the modern representative of the old palace, and the present abbey buildings. If these latter largely remain, despite many destructive alterations in details, in their ancient site, we must remember that there was nothing like the broad modern road that separates the east end of the abbey from Westminster Hall and the House of Lords. A wall enclosed the royal precincts, and went westwards to within a few feet of the monks' infirmary and the end of St. Margaret's Church. The still existing access to the abbey on the east side of the south transept through the door by which you can still go into "poet's corner," having the chapter house on your left and Henry VII's chapel on your right, was the portal by which immediate access to the palace could be gained through a gate in this wall. The space between the abbey and the palace wall was occupied by the churchyard of St. Margaret's. The parish church—or rather its successor—still crouches beneath the shade of the neighbouring minster. This churchyard covered the ground now taken up by Henry VII's chapel, which of course was not as yet in existence. In the midst of this grassy plot stood the chapter house of the monks of Westminster, with its flying buttresses and its single pillar supporting its huge vault, then newly erected by the pious zeal of Henry III.

Westminster Abbey was founded by Edward the Confessor, and substantially refounded by Henry III, who had shown immense care and lavished large sums on a grandiose scheme for the rebuilding of the great house of religion which contained the shrine of his favourite saint, in whose honour he had given his son the name of Edward. The rebuilding went on into the reign of Edward I, who was not much inferior to his father in his zeal for the church, and was doubly bound to honour his father's wishes and the memory of his own patron saint. In the closing years of the thirteenth century circumstances compelled

Edward I to desist from this work. The king now found himself dragged into enormous expenses by the French, Scottish, and Flemish wars. He was perforce turned from church-building to get men and money for his wars.

The finances of England under Edward I were less elastic than under Mr. Lloyd-George, and modern credit and banking were then in their very infancy. Edward I, though he imposed taxes which would make the most stalwart militarist of to-day quiver, soon found himself hopelessly in debt. To meet his burdens the king constantly employed differentiated taxation, but the differentiation was calculated by rather a different method from that in fashion nowadays. It was differentiation according to status, not according to wealth. The clergy, who were not expected to fight, were expected to pay more heavily than the laymen. Let us take as an instance of how things were then done the taxes levied in 1294 when the fighting country districts were called upon to pay a tenth of their moveables in taxation, and the wealthier and more peaceful towns were asked for a sixth. From the clergy a tax equal, I think, to a modern income tax of ten shillings in the pound, was demanded, and it is said that when the dean of St. Paul's heard of this unprecedented impost, he fell dead on the spot. If such heroic efforts—I mean the king's not the dean's—were necessary in 1294 at the beginning of England's troubles, how much worse things must have become by 1303, after ten years of storm and stress? By this date Edward I's finances were indeed in a bad state. Historians are only now gradually beginning to realise how embarrassed the great king was in the last years of his reign, and how desperate were some of his attempts to fill his exchequer.

The whole of Edward's declining years were not equally strenuous, though his finances steadily grew worse. Before the end of the old century Edward had got over the worst of his troubles abroad. He therefore determined to devote himself with characteristic energy to the conquest of the "rebel" Scots. Since therefore Scotland now became the king's chief anxiety, Edward made his headquarters in the north of England. In those days, where the king lived there the machinery of government was to be found. For though England in the thirteenth century had centralised institutions, those institutions were not centralised in a local capital. It is true that one English city was immensely more important than all the rest. London, in the thirteenth

as in the eighteenth century, was, relatively to other towns, even greater and more important than is the case nowadays. Of course Edward I's London to our eyes would be quite a little place, but at a time when there was, outside London, perhaps no town of more than 10,000 inhabitants and very few of that population, a city four or five times that size was something portentous. Yet this greatness of London was due to its commercial activity, much more than to the fact that it was the "capital" of the country or its seat of government. In reality there was no capital in the modern sense, for the English tradition was that the government should follow the king. It was only very gradually that the governing machinery of the land was permanently settled in Westminster or London. There was, however, already a tendency towards making the great city, or rather its neighbouring court suburb, a centre of permanent administrative offices, a capital in the modern sense. Thus the Court of Common Pleas had been settled in London since Magna Carta and the Exchequer, that is the department of finance, had also been fixed there since the reign of Henry II. These were, however, still the exceptions which proved the rule. The office of the Chancery—which was not then a law-court, but the secretarial office of state—followed the king. So also did certain branches of the administration which depended on the court, and were intended, first of all, to be the machinery for the government of the king's household.

In the middle ages no distinction was made between the king and the kingdom. If the king had devised a useful machine for governing his household and estates, he naturally used it for any other purposes for which he thought it would be useful. We find, therefore, the court offices of administration and finance working side by side with the national offices, not only in dealing with household affairs, but in the actual work of governing the country.

The most important of these household offices was that called the king's Wardrobe. Originally the Wardrobe was, of course, the closet in which the king hung up his clothes, and the staff belonging to it were the valets and servants whose business it was to look after them. From this modest beginning the king's Wardrobe had become an organised office of government. Its clerks rivalled the officers of the Exchequer in their dealings with financial matters, and the officers of the Chancery, in the number of letters, mandates, orders, and general administrative business which passed through their hands.

The Wardrobe always "followed the king". In war time, then, it was far away from London, at or near the scene of fighting. In such periods it became the great spending department, while the Exchequer normally remained at Westminster collecting the revenue of the country, and forwarding the money to the Wardrobe which spent it. For five years before 1303 the king had thrown his chief energies into the conquest of Scotland. Under these circumstances London and Westminster saw little of him. Moreover, he found it convenient to have near him in the north even the sedentary offices of government. Accordingly in 1298 Edward transferred the Exchequer, the law courts, and the Chancery to York. From 1298, then, to 1303 York, rather than Westminster, might have been called the capital of England, and the king's appearances to the south were few and far between. The occasion of such visits was generally his desire to get money, and to make arrangements with his creditors. From such a short sojourn the king went north in the early months of 1303. Despite all his efforts it was only in that year that he was really able to put his main weight into the Scottish war.

When our burglary took place, king, court, and government offices had been removed to York for over five years. Under mediaeval conditions the eye of a vigilant task-master was an essential condition of efficiency. It followed then that during Edward's long absence things at Westminster were allowed to drift into an extraordinary state of confusion and disorder. Affairs were made worse by the fact that even kings were not always free to choose their own servants. Thus the king's palace at Westminster was in the hands of an hereditary keeper. There was nothing strange about this. In the middle ages such offices were frequently held by hereditary right, just as in the East everybody takes up his father's business as a matter of religious duty. Earl Curzon once pointed out to the electors of Oldham that in India there are still hereditary tailors, who did their work very well. However this may be with tailors in the East and legislators in the West, the hereditary keeper of Edward's palace of Westminster did not prove to be a very effective custodian of his master's property. His name was John Shenche or Senche, and he held two hereditary offices, that of "keeper of the king's palace at Westminster," and also the keepership of the Fleet prison, in right of his wife Joan, who had inherited both from her father. Thus in

addition to the keepership of the palace John Shenche "kept" the king's prison of the Fleet in the city of London. As a rule, John and his wife Joan had their habitation in the prison in the City. John, therefore, employed as his deputy at Westminster an underling, a certain William of the Palace, who kept, or rather did not keep, for him the king's palace at Westminster. However, early in the year 1303, John left his abode in the City where his wife remained, and took up his quarters in the palace. Apparently the prison was not so comfortable a place for an easy-going officer to live in as the palace. Perhaps, too, the domestic restraints imposed upon Shenche in the city were burdensome to him. Certainly gay times now ensued in the deserted palace. Soon John and William, in the absence of the higher authorities, seem to have gathered together a band of disreputable boon companions of both sexes, whose drunken revels and scandalous misconduct were soon notorious throughout the neighbourhood. One element in this band of revellers was, I regret to say, a certain section of the monks of the neighbouring monastery. For as the absence of the king and the court had left the palace asleep, as it were, so also had the monastery at Westminster sunk into a deeper and more scandalous slumber.

The enthusiasm, effort, and excitement which had marked the period of Henry III.'s reconstruction of Westminster Abbey had now died down. Mediaeval man, though zealous and full of ideas, was seldom persistent. It is a commonplace of history that when the first impulse of fervour that attended a new order or a new foundation had passed away, religious activity was followed by a strong reaction. The great period of the monastery at Westminster had been during its reconstitution under Henry III, but that time of energy had now worked itself out, and the abbey had gone to sleep. The work of reconstruction had stopped from lack of funds ; the royal favour as well as the royal presence was withdrawn gradually from the abbey. Moreover, a few years earlier a disastrous fire devastated the monastic buildings, and only just spared the chapter house and the abbey church. It looks as if the monks had to camp out in half-ruined buildings till their home could be restored. All this naturally relaxed the reins of discipline, the more so since the abbot, Walter of Wenlock, was an old man, whose hold on the monks was slight, and some of the chief officers of the abbey, the *obedientiaries*, as

they were called, were singularly incompetent or unscrupulous persons. It followed naturally that many of the fifty monks became slack beyond ordinary standards of mediaeval slackness. It was both from obedientiaries and common monks that John Shenche and William of the Palace secured the companions for their unseemly revels. There now comes upon the scene a new figure, in fact, the hero of the burglary, Richard of Pudlicott.

Richard of Pudlicott began life as a clerk, but abandoned his clergy for the more profitable calling of a wandering trader in wool, cheese, and butter. England's economic position in those days reminds us of the state of things now prevailing in Argentina or Australia, rather than that in modern industrial England. She had little to sell abroad save raw materials, especially wool, which was largely exported to the great clothing towns of Flanders. This traffic took Pudlicott to Ghent and Bruges in 1298, when Edward I had allied with the Flemings against the king of France. But his trading adventures were as unsuccessful as the king's military efforts in Flanders. Moreover, after the king's return to England, Pudlicott had the ill luck to be among those merchants arrested as a surety for the debts which Edward had left behind him in the Low Countries. This unceremonious treatment of an alien ally is a method of mediaeval frightfulness which may be recommended to our alien enemies, but Edward's credit was so bad that we can hardly blame the Flemings for leaving no stone unturned to obtain payment of their debts ; whether they succeeded I do not know. Before long Richard escaped from his Flemish gaol, leaving his property in Flanders in the hands of his captors. Nursing a grievance against the king, and with dire poverty facing him, he took lodgings in London, where, like many bankrupts, he seems to have generally had enough money to indulge in all the personal gratifications that he had a special mind to practice. It seems that in the pursuit of his disreputable pleasures, Pudlicott was brought into contact with John Shenche, William of the Palace, and the other merry-makers, lay and ecclesiastical, in the lodge of the king's palace of Westminster. He had a specious excuse for haunting Westminster Hall. He was—he says himself—seeking a remedy in the king's courts for the property he had lost in Flanders. How he could find one, when these courts were at York, I cannot say. But, as we shall see, many of Pudlicott's personal statements are difficult to reconcile with

facts. However, Edward himself soon came to Westminster, but withdrew after a short stay, leaving Pudlicott unpaid.

We have seen how near was the palace to the abbey, and how the palace keeper's monastic friends formed a living bridge between the two. One result of these pleasant social relations was that the Abbey of Westminster soon became familiar ground to Pudlicott. One day, when disturbed at the hopelessness of getting his grievances redressed by the king, he wandered through the cloisters of the abbey, and noticed with greedy eyes the rich stores of silver plate carried in and out of the refectory of the monks, by the servants who were waiting on the brethren at meals. The happy idea struck him to seek a means to "enable him to come at the goods which he saw". Thus the king's foundation might, somewhat irregularly, be made to pay the king's debts. Pudlicott soon laid his plans accordingly. The very day after the king left Westminster, Pudlicott found a ladder reared up against a house near the palace gate. He put this ladder against one of the windows of the chapter-house ; he climbed up the ladder ; found a window that opened by means of a cord ; opened the window and swung himself by the same cord into the chapter-house. Thence he made his way to the refectory, and secured a rich booty of plate which he managed to carry off and sell.

Pudlicott's success with the monks' plate did not profit him for long. Within nine months—and we may believe surely this part of his not too veracious tale—the proceeds of the sale of the silver cups and dishes of the abbey had been eaten up. No doubt the loose life he was living and the revels with the keepers of the palace involved a constant need for plentiful supplies of ready cash. Anyhow by the end of 1302 Richard was again destitute, and looking out for something more to steal. It was, doubtless, dangerous to rob the monks any more, and perhaps the intimacy which was now established between him and his monastic boon companions suggested to Richard a more excellent way of restoring his fortunes. His plan was now to rob the king's treasury, and his success seemed assured since, as he tells us, he "knew the premises of the abbey, where the treasury was, and how he might come to it". How he profited by his knowledge we shall soon see, but first we must for a moment part company with Pudlicott's "confession," which up to now I have followed with hesitation. But for the next stage of our story it is plainly almost the contrary of the truth.

Before we can with advantage explain why we can no longer trust his tale, it would be well for us to state what this treasury was and how it could be got at.

Let us begin with the word treasury. In the fourteenth century treasury meant simply a storehouse, or at its narrowest a storehouse of valuables. To us the "treasury" is the government department of finance, but under Edward I the state office of finance was the Exchequer, which, as we saw, was located normally at Westminster, but since 1298 at York. When at Westminster the Exchequer had a "treasury" or storehouse there also, yet in its absence it is not likely that it kept either valuables or money at Westminster. But side by side with the state office was the household office of finance, the Wardrobe, and, though the wardrobe office was itinerating with the king, it still kept a "treasury" or storehouse at Westminster, and this, for the sake of greater safety, had been placed for some years at least within the precincts of the abbey. From the monastic point of view, it was doubtless an inconvenience that nearness to the royal dwelling compelled them to offer their premises for the royal service. Accordingly, kings not infrequently made demands upon the abbey to use its buildings. Thus the chapter house became a frequent place for meetings of parliament, and at a later time it was used and continued to be used till the nineteenth century, for the storage of official records. In the same way Edward secured the crypt underneath the chapter house as one of the storehouses of his Wardrobe. When the crypt was first used for this purpose I do not know, but records show us that it was already in use in 1291, at which date it was newly paved. It was not the only storehouse of the Wardrobe. There was another "treasury of the wardrobe" in the Tower of London, but this was mainly used for bulky articles, arms and armour, cloth, furs, furniture, and the like. Most of what we should call treasure was deposited in the Westminster crypt, and we are fortunate in having still extant a list of the jewels preserved there in 1298, the time when the court began to establish itself for its five years' sojourn in the north. In 1303 jewels and plate were still the chief treasures preserved there. Some money was there also, notably a store of "gold florins of Florence," the only gold coins currently used in England at a time when the national mints limited themselves to the coinage of silver. But I do not think there could have been much money, for Edward's needs were too pressing, his financial

policy too much from hand to mouth, for the crypt at Westminster to be a hoard of coined money, like the famous Prussian *Kriegsschatz* at Spandau, which, we now rejoice to learn, is becoming rapidly depleted. Whatever its contents, Edward estimated that their value was £100,000, a sum equivalent to a year's revenue of the English state in ordinary times. Unluckily mediaeval statistics are largely mere guess-work. But the amount of the guess at least suggests the feeling that the value of the treasures stored in the crypt was very considerable.

The crypt under the chapter house is one of the most interesting portions of the abbey buildings at Westminster. It is little known because it is not, I think, generally shown to visitors. I am indebted to the kindness of my friend, Bishop Ryle, the present dean, for an opportunity of making a special inspection of it. It is delightfully complete, and delightfully unrestored. The chief new thing about it seems the pavement, but the dean's well-informed verger told me that it was within living memory that this pavement had replaced the flooring of 1291. Numerous windows give a fair amount of light to the apartment; though the enormous thickness of the walls, some thirteen feet, it was said, prevent the light being very abundant, even on a bright day. The central column, the lower part of the great pillar from which radiates the high soaring vaults of the chapter house above, alone breaks the present emptiness of the crypt. Considerable portions of the column are cut away to form a series of neatly made recesses, and there are recesses within these recesses, which suggest in themselves careful devices for secreting valuables, for it would be easy to conceal them by the simple expedient of inserting a stone here and there where the masonry had been cut away, and so suggesting to the unwary an unbroken column. I should not like to say that these curious store-places already existed in 1303; but there is no reason why they should not. Certainly they fit in admirably with the use of the crypt as a treasury.

One other point we must also remember about the dispositions of this crypt. There is only one access to it, and that is neither from the chapter house above nor from the adjacent cloister, but from the church itself. A low, vaulted passage is entered by a door at the south-east corner of the south transept of the abbey, now for many centuries the special burial place for poets, eminent and otherwise. This passage descends by a flight of steep steps to the crypt itself, and the flight originally seems, I am told—doubtless as another precaution against

robbery—to have been a broken one suggesting that a steep drop, presumably spanned by a short ladder, further barred access to the crypt. We must remember, too, that this sole access to the treasury was within a few feet of the sacristy of the abbey. The sacristy was the chapel to the south of the south transept, and communicating with it where the sacrist kept the precious vessels appropriated to the service of the altar. Altogether it looks as if the crypt were originally intended as a store-house for such church treasure as the sacrist did not need for his immediate purposes. From this use it was diverted, as we have seen, to the keeping of the royal treasures. Nowadays the sacristy is called the chapel of St. Faith and is used for purposes of private devotion. We must not forget the close connexion in our period of the sacristy and the crypt. The connexion becomes significant when we remember that among Pudlicott's monastic boon companions at the palace-keeper's lodge was the sacrist of the abbey, Adam of Warfield.

Pudlicott had made up his mind to steal the king's treasure. The practical problem was how to get access to it. If we examine the evidence collected at the enquiry, we find that there are two discrepant accounts as to how the robber effected his purpose. The one is warranted by the testimony of a large number of sworn juries of reputable citizens of every ward in the city of London, of burgesses of Westminster, and of the good men of every hundred in the adjacent shires of Middlesex and Surrey. It is—like much truthful evidence—rather vague, but its general tendency is, while recognizing that Pudlicott is the prime offender, to make various monks and palace officers his accomplices. Of the latter category William of the Palace seems to have been the most active, while of the many monks Adam Warfield the sacrist was the most generally denounced. But the proved share of both Adam and William was based largely on the discovery of stolen property in their possession. The evidence of the juries suggests theories as to how the crime may have been perpetrated; it does not make the methods of the culprits clear and palpable. But it suggests that masons and carpenters were called in, so that some breaking in of the structure was attempted, and in particular it suggests that the churchyard was the thoroughfare through which the robbers removed their booty.

Let us turn next to Pudlicott's own confession, that remarkable document from which I have already borrowed many details, though

seldom without a word of warning. According to his confession, Pudlicott, having resolved to rob the treasury, came to the conclusion that the best way to tackle the business was to pierce a hole through the wall of thirteen feet of stone that supported the lower story of the chapter house.¹⁵ For so colossal a task time was clearly needed. Richard accordingly devoted himself during the dark nights of winter and early spring to drilling through the solid masonry. He attacked the building from the churchyard or eastern side, having access thereto from the palace. But the churchyard was open to the parish and the thrifty churchwardens of St. Margaret's had let to a neighbouring butcher the right of grazing his sheep in it. Now the butcher was told that his privilege was withdrawn, and passers-by were sent round by another path. This was a precaution against the casual wayfarer seeing the hole which was daily growing larger. To hide from the casual observer the great gash in the stonework, Richard tells us that he sowed hempseed in the churchyard near the hole, and that this grew so rapidly that the tender hemp plants not only hid the gap in the wall, but provided cover for him to hide the spoils he hoped to steal from the treasury. When the hole was complete on 24 April, Pudlicott went through and found to his delight that the chamber was full of baskets, chests, and other vessels for holding valuables, plate, relics, jewels, and gold florins of Florence. Richard remained in the crypt gloating over the treasure surrounding him from the evening of 24 April to the morning of 26 April. Perhaps he found it impossible to tear himself away from so much wealth ; or perhaps the intervening day, being the feast of St. Mark, there were too many people about, and too many services in the abbey to make his retreat secure. However, he managed on the morning of 26 April to get away, taking with him as much as he could carry. He seems to have dropped, or to have left lying about, a good deal that he was unable to carry, possibly for his friends to pick up.

Such is Pudlicott's story. It is the tale of a bold ruffian who glories in his crime, and is proud to declare "I alone did it". But there was a touch of heroism and of devotion in our hero thus taking on himself the whole blame. He voluntarily made himself the scapegoat of an offence for which scores were charged, and in particular he took on his own shoulders the heavy share of responsibility which belonged to the negligent monks of Westminster. Now as to the credibility of Pudlicott's story, we must admit that some of the juries accepted evi-

dence that corroborated some parts of it. Sworn men declared their belief that the crypt was approached from the outside ; that masons and carpenters were employed on the business ; that the churchyard was closely guarded, and access refused, even to the butcher who rented the grazing. It is clear too that the booty was got rid of through the churchyard, and that piecemeal. There is evidence even that hemp was sown, though the verdict of a jury cannot alter the conditions of vegetable growth in an English winter. We must allow too that it is pretty certain that Warfield had not the custody of the keys of the crypt ; though he was doubtless able to give facilities for tampering with the door or forcing the lock. Yet Pudlicott's general story remains absolutely incredible. It was surely impossible to break through the solid wall, and no incuriousness or corruption would account for wall-piercing operations being unnoticed, when carried on in the midst of a considerable population for three months on end. Some of Pudlicott's lies were inconceivable in their crudity. Is it likely that hemp, sown at Christmas-time, would, before the end of April, afford sufficient green cover to hide the hole in the wall, and to secrete gleaming articles of silver within its thick recesses ? And how are we to believe that there was a great gaping hole in the wall of the crypt when nothing was heard of the crime for several weeks after its perpetration, and no details of the king's losses were known until two months after the burglary, when the keeper of the Wardrobe unlocked the door of the treasury and examined its contents ? A more artistic liar would have made his confession more convincing.

What really happened seems to me to have been something like this. I have no doubt that Pudlicott got into the treasury by the simple process of his friend, Adam of Warfield, giving him facilities for forcing the door or perhaps breaking a window. He remained in the crypt a long time so that he might hand out its contents to confederates who, as we learn from the depositions, ate, drank, and revelled till midnight for two nights running in a house within the precincts of the Fleet prison, and then went armed and horsed to Westminster, returning towards daybreak loaded with booty. But not only the revellers in Shenche's headquarters, but many monks, many abbey servants, the custodians of the palace, the leading goldsmiths of the city, and half the neighbours must have been cognisant of, if not participating in, the crime. It speaks well for honour among thieves, that it was not

until deplorable indiscretions were made in the disposal of the booty that any news of the misdeed reached the ears of any of the official custodians of the treasure.

Suspicion of the crime was first excited by the discovery of fragments of the spoil in all sorts of unexpected places. A fisherman, plying his craft in the then silver Thames, netted a silver goblet which had evidently been the property of the king. Passers by found cups, dishes, and similar precious things hidden behind tombstones and other rough hiding-places in St. Margaret's Churchyard. Boys playing in the neighbouring fields found pieces of plate concealed under hedgerows. Such discoveries were made as far from Westminster as Kentish Town. Moreover, many other people lighted upon similar pieces of treasure trove. Foreign money found its way into the hands of the money-changers at London, York, and Lymn, and other remote parts. The city goldsmiths were the happy receivers of large amounts of silver plate, among them, I regret to say, being William Torel, the artist-goldsmith, whose skill in metal work has left such an abiding mark in the decorations of the abbey church. There were, too, scandalous stories whispered abroad. One of them was that a woman of loose life explained her possession of a precious ring by relating that it was given her by Dom Adam the sacrist "so that she should become his friend".

Such tales soon made the story of the robbery common property. At last it came to the ears of the king and his ministers, then encamped at Linlithgow for the Scottish war. Thereupon, on 6 June, the king appointed a special commission of judges to investigate the matter. On 20 June, John Droxford, the keeper of the wardrobe, came to Westminster with the keys of the crypt, and then and only then did any official examination of the treasury take place. An entry was made into the crypt and the damage which had been done was inspected. The result is still to be read in an inventory of the treasures lost and the treasures found which Droxford drew up, and which may now be studied in print.

It is pleasant to say that by the time Droxford went to work much of the treasure, which had been scattered broadcast, was being brought back and that more was soon to follow. The first investigations as to where the treasure had been carried led to fruitful results. A good deal of it was found hidden beneath the beds of the keeper of the

palace and of his assistant. Still more was found in the lodgings of Richard Pudlicott and his mistress. Adam the sacrist, and some of his brother monks and their servants, were discovered to be in possession of other missing articles. Altogether, when Droxford had finished his inventory, a large proportion of the articles which had been lost were reclaimed. Ultimately it seems that the losses were not very severe.

Wholesale arrests were now made. Richard Pudlicott was apprehended on 25 June, and William of the Palace soon experienced the same fate. Before long the connexion which the monks had had with the business seemed so well established that the whole convent, including the abbot and forty-eight monks, were indicted and sent to the Tower, where they were soon joined by thirty-two other persons. This time the king's net had spread rather too widely, and the indiscriminate arrest of guilty and innocent excited some measure of sympathy, even for the guilty. The majority of the clerical prisoners were released on bail, but some half-dozen laymen and ten monks were still kept in custody. Both the released and the imprisoned culprits raised a great outcry, sending petitions to the king demanding a further enquiry into the whole matter.

The first commission meanwhile had been empanelling juries and collecting evidence. But the matter was so serious that in November a second royal commission was appointed to hear and determine the matter. The members of this second commission were chosen from among the most eminent of the king's judges, including the chief justice of the king's bench, Sir Roger Brabazon and the shrewdest judge of the time, William Bereford, afterwards chief justice of common pleas.

I have already indicated in outline the result of the investigations of the two judicial commissions. I have told you how juries were empanelled from every hundred in the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, and from the wards of the city of London and from Westminster. The details of the evidence are worthy of more special treatment than I can give them here, because they afford a wonderful picture of the loose-living, easy-going, slack, negligent, casual, and criminal doings of mediaeval men and women. I must, however, be content to restate the general result of the trials. Richard of Pudlicott was found guilty. Various other people, including William of the Palace, and certain monks, were declared accomplices, while Adam

Warfield was shrewdly suspected to be at the bottom of the whole business. More than a year was spent in investigations, and it was not until March, 1304, eleven months after the burglary, that William of the Palace and five other lay culprits were comfortably hanged.

The great problem was how to deal with the clerical offenders without adding to the king's difficulties by rousing the sleeping dogs of the church, always ready to bark when the state meditated any infringement of the claim of all clerks to be subject solely to the ecclesiastical tribunals. Accordingly Richard of Pudlicott, and ten monks were reserved for further treatment. Pudlicott, as we have seen, had been a tonsured person in his youth, and he probably claimed, as did the monks, benefit of clergy. It was probably now that Pudlicott nobly tried to shield his monastic allies by his extraordinary confession. His heroism, however, availed him nothing. But whatever his zeal for the church, Edward I was upon adequate occasion ready to ride rough-shod over clerical privileges, and he always bitterly resented any attempt of a culprit, who had lived as a layman, trying to shield himself on the pretext that he had been a clerk in his youth. His corrupt chief justice, Thomas Weyland, had sought to evade condemnation by resuming the tonsure and clerical garb which he had worn before he abandoned his orders to become a knight, a country squire, and the founder of a family of landed gentry. But Weyland's subdiaconate did not save him from exile and loss of land and goods. Pudlicott's sometime clerical character had even less power to preserve him. He also paid tardily the capital penalty for his misdeed. But it was surely his clergy that kept him alive in prison for more than two years after the date of the commission of his crime.

The fate of the incriminated clerks still hung in the balance when in the spring of 1305 Edward came back in triumph to London, rejoicing that at last he had effected the thorough conquest of Scotland. His cheerful frame of mind made him listen readily to the demands of the monks of Westminster to have pity on their unfortunate brethren, and to comply with the more general clerical desire that ecclesiastical privilege should be respected. Only a few months after the burglary, the news of the outrage on pope Boniface VIII at Anagni had filled all Christendom with horror. At the instance of Philip the Fair, king of France, and his agents in Italy the pope was seized, maltreated, and insulted. In the indignant words of Dante, "Christ was again crucified in the

person of his vicar". The universal feeling of resentment against so wanton a violation of ecclesiastical privilege was ingeniously used in favour of the monks of Westminster. Among the monks, arrested at first, but soon released with the majority of their brethren, were two men who had some reputation as historians. One of these was magnanimous enough to write, two or three years afterwards, a sort of funeral eulogy of Edward, but the other, Robert of Reading, who, in my opinion, kept the official chronicle of the abbey from 1302 to 1326, set forth the Westminster point of view very effectively in the well-known version of the chronicle called *Flores Historiarum*, the original manuscript of which is now in the Chetham Library. In this is given what may be regarded as the official account of Richard's burglary. The robbery of the king of England was a crime only comparable to the robbery of the treasure of Boniface VIII, six months later at Anagni. The chronicler is most indignant at the suggestion that the monks had anything to do with the matter, and laments passionately their long imprisonment and their unmerited sufferings. He relies in substance on the story as told in Pudlicott's confession. The burglary was effected by a single robber.

So lacking in humour was the Westminster annalist that he did not scruple to borrow the phraseology and the copious Scriptural citations of a certain "Passion of the monks of Westminster according to John," the whole text of which is unfortunately not extant. I may say, however, that the species of composition called a "Passion" was particularly in vogue at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and is mainly characterised by its extraordinary skill in parodying the words of the Scripture in order to describe in mock heroic vein some incident of more or less undeserved suffering. For profanity, grim humour, and misapplied knowledge of the Vulgate the "passions" of this period have no equal. They are a curious illustration of the profane humour of the mediaeval ecclesiastic in his lighter moments.

The Westminster annalist did not stand alone. Other monastic chroniclers took up and accepted his story. It became the accepted monastic doctrine that one robber only had stolen the king's treasure, and that therefore the monks of Westminster were unwarrantably accused. One writer added to his text a crude illustration of how, it was imagined, Pudlicott effected his purpose. You may see opposite this page his rude pictorial representation of the "one robber" kneeling

h. cc. vii.

Anglia leta cane gens scocia pugnat mane
anno regni regis eduardi tricesimo se-
undo papa benedictus du apud perusium
cursum dei populo p̄dicaret. int̄ acta deplorauit
abominabile exicium in uicariu ihu xp̄i p̄
petri commissum. nec tantu casum p̄sone defle-
uit. quimmo ipm xp̄m a militibz pilati tūm
spoliari asserens captu dampnandu. et tanq̄
remoratu planxit in carne ueluto in sepulcro
triduo a militibz custoditu. nō ut dicit apls
xp̄c resurgens ex mortuis iam nō mortuus et caa.
ueru est in carne iam glorificata. Et sicut dix-
it xp̄c petro interroganti. dñe quo uadis. art
uenio uimā tūm crucifigi. Intellexit ḡ hoc



THE OUTRAGE AT WESTMINSTER.

Leo rex
in missis
anno unce
mantes quā
et
sicut
am. sed sua

ctur' fōstian et dicitur? In reg' am malib; orne
de' monachos p' thefaria sua in mercatois.
Doc nomen hortoris ē nōmē stīspicor statim
mali. Cum enī incareraūt quārum, hoc inde
concio. Cūt enī mōlēns uīsīs principiū
aut cūsquefor reg' pāis erat. Cōspodo. O dī
dime sup' te conq'uit' uor' erā. Inter dīg'rum



TURK OUTRAGE AT AMAGONI.

on the grass in the churchyard, and picking up by a hand and arm extended through the broken window the precious stores within. But Pudlicott's arm must have been longer than the arm of justice to effect this operation, and must have been twice or thrice the length of a tall man. This same chronicler was not contented with repeating the parallel now recognised between the sufferings of the monks of Westminster, under their unjust accusations, and the passion of pope Boniface, five months later, at the hands of the robbers hired by the ruthless king of France. He must give a picture of the Anagni outrage as well as of the orthodox version of the Westminster burglary. How far he has succeeded, you may gather from the rude sketch figured on the opposite page. Not only does he give us so vivid a picture of pope Boniface's sufferings from the rude soldiery that the drawing might well be used as a representation of a martyrdom, like that of St. Thomas of Canterbury. His sketch of three other sacrilegious warriors, rifling the huge chest that contained the papal treasures, skilfully suggests that robbery was the common motive that united the outrage at Anagni to the outrage at Westminster. He leaves us to draw the deeper moral that the sinful desire of unhallowed laymen to bring holy church and her ministers into discredit was the ultimate root of both these scandals.

Edward was satisfied with his Scottish campaign ; he was becoming old and tired ; he was pleased to know that a great deal of the lost treasure had been recovered ; and he was always anxious to avoid scandal, and to minimise any disagreement with the monks of his father's foundation. He, therefore, condoned what he could not remedy. He soon released all the monks from prison. He even restored Shenche to his hereditary office of the keepership of the palace. Richard of Pudlicott alone was offered up to vengeance. In October, 1305, Richard was hanged, regardless of his clergy.

Affairs at the monastery of Westminster were not improved after these events. There was much quarrelling among the monks. Walter of Wenlock died. There were disputes as to his succession ; an unsatisfactory appointment was made, and there was a considerable amount of strife for a generation. The feeling against the king was shown equally against his son, and is reflected in the bitter Westminster chronicle of the reign of Edward II. One result of the demonstration of the futility of storing valuables within the precincts

of the abbey was that the chief treasury of the wardrobe was bodily transferred to the Tower of London.

Some obvious morals might be drawn from this slight but not unpicturesque story ; but I will forbear from printing them. One generalisation I will, however, venture to make by way of conclusion. The strongest impression left by the records of the trial is one of the slackness and the easy-going ways of the mediaeval man. The middle ages do not often receive fair treatment. Some are, perhaps, too apt to idealise them, as an age of heroic piety, with its statesmen, saints, heroes, artists, and thinkers ; but such people are in all ages the brilliant exceptions. The age of St. Francis of Assisi, of Dante, of Edward I, of St. Louis of France, of St. Thomas Aquinas, the age in which the greatest buildings of the world were made, was a great time and had its great men. But the middle ages were a period of strange contrasts. Shining virtues and gross vices stood side by side. The contrasts between the clearly cut black and white of the thirteenth century are attractive to us immersed in the continuous grey of our own times. But we find our best analogies to mediaeval conditions in those which are nowadays stigmatised as Oriental. Conspicuous among them was a deep pervading shiftlessness and casualness. Mediaeval man was never up to time. He seldom kept his promise, not through malice, but because he never did to-day what could be put off till to-morrow or the next day.

Pudlicott then is a typical mediaeval criminal. He was doubtless a scamp, but most of the people with whom he had dealings were loose-thinking, easy-going folk like himself. Of course there are always the exceptions. But Edward I, with his gift of persistence, was a peculiarly exceptional type in the middle ages, and even Edward I found it convenient to let things slide in small matters. Thus on this occasion Edward began his investigation with great show of care and determination to sift the whole matter ; but when he found that thorny problems were being stirred up, he determined—not for the first time—to let sleeping dogs lie, and avoid further scandal.

We must not, however, build up too large a superstructure of theory on this petty story of the police courts, plus a mild ecclesiastical scandal. Nor must we emphasize too much or generalise too largely from the signs of slackness and negligence shown in mediaeval trials. I become more and more averse to facile generalisation about the middle

ages or mediaeval man. They may, moreover, be made in both directions. On the one side we have the doctrine of our greatest of recent scholars, bishop Stubbs, that the thirteenth century was the greatest century of the middle ages, the flowering type of mediaeval christianity and so on. But on the other hand there is the contradictory generalisation of students, like my friend Mr. Coulton, who surveys the time from St. Francis to Dante with the conviction that the so-called great days of faith were the days of unrestrained criminality and violence. Both these views can be argued ; but neither are really convincing. They seem to me to be obtained by looking at one side of the question only. A more fruitful doctrine is surely the view that ordinary mediaeval men were not so very unlike ourselves, and that their virtues and vices were not those of saints or ruffians, but were not wholly out of relation to the ordinary humdrum virtues and vices that are found to-day.

NOTES.

I. NOTE ON AUTHORITIES.

The accounts of the robbery of the king's treasury in the Chronicles are vitiated by the obvious desire of the writers, who were mainly monks, to minimise the scandal to "religion" involved in the suspected complicity of the Westminster monks. This is seen even in the moderate account originating at St. Alban's Abbey, and contained in William Rishanger's *Chronicle* (Rolls Series), pp. 222 and 225, and also in the other St. Alban's version in *Gesta Edwardi Primi*, published in the same volume, pp. 420-1. The bias is naturally at its worst in the Westminster Abbey Chronicle, printed in *Flores Historiarum*, III. 115, 117, 121, and 131 (Rolls Series), which is more valuable perhaps as an index of Westminster opinion than as a dispassionate statement of the facts. The chief manuscript of this chronicle is preserved in the Chetham Library, Manchester [MS. Chetham No. 6712]. It was certainly written by a Westminster monk, and, perhaps after 1302, by Robert of Reading, who undoubtedly was the author of the account of the reign of Edward II. If Robert wrote the story of the robbery, it should be remembered that he was one of the forty-nine monks indicted and sent to the Tower on a charge of complicity in it. There are useful and more impartial notices in the non-monastic *Annales*

Londonienses in Stubbs' *Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II*, i. 130, 131, 132, and 134 (Rolls Series). These date the robbery on 2 May.

The *Chronicles* being thus under suspicion, we must go for our main knowledge of the story to record sources, many of which are fortunately accessible in print. Palgrave's *Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer*, i. 251-99 (Record Commission, 1836), publishes the writs appointing the two commissions of enquiry and the verdicts of the juries empanelled by them. The writs are also in Rymer's *Fœdera*, i. 956, 959 (Record Commission). The confession of Richard Pudlicott is printed in an English translation in H. Hall's *Antiquities of the Exchequer*, pp. 25-8, and also in L. O. Pike's *History of Crime in England*, Vol. i. The French original can be read in *Exchequer Accounts*, *K. R.*, 332/8. Cole's *Records* (Record Commission, 1844) prints the indenture in which Droxford, the Keeper of the Wardrobe, specifies the jewels lost and recovered. Some entries in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls* and the *Calendar of Close Rolls* usefully supplement the continuous records.

There are several fairly full modern accounts, the majority of which are not quite satisfactory. That in Dean Stanley's *Memorials of Westminster Abbey* is more eloquent than critical. H. Harrod's article in *Archæologia*, LXIV. 375, "on the crypt of the chapter house at Westminster," is valuable for its clear identification of the crypt under the chapter house with the scene of the robbery. Equally useful is J. Burtt's important paper "On some discoveries in connexion with the ancient treasury of Westminster," published in G. G. Scott's *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, pp. 18-33. The two fullest modern accounts are in L. O. Pike's *History of Crime in England*, i. 199-203 and 466-7, and Hubert Hall's *Antiquities of the Exchequer*, pp. 18-33. The latter is perhaps the better because, though telling the story in a book dealing with the exchequer, it recognises that the treasury robbed was the treasury of the wardrobe. There are, however, materials for a more detailed critical narrative than has hitherto been attempted.

II. NOTE ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

The two rough drawings, figured in the text, are reproduced from f. 192d of a Manuscript Chronicle in the British Museum [*M.S. Cotton*,

Nero, D. ii.]. The first, opposite p. 19, represents the story of the robbery of the treasury of the wardrobe "by a single robber," which this chronicle, following the Westminster version, adopts. The second, opposite p. 20, depicts the outrage on Boniface VIII by the agents of Philip the Fair at Anagni, in September, 1303. This picture of the attack on the pope emphasizes the comparison made by the sympathetic monastic writers between the scandal of Anagni and the analogous outrage on the church by the imprisonment of the monks of Westminster. The photographs were taken by the permission of the Principal Librarian of the British Museum by the Artists Illustrators, Limited.

The rough plan of Westminster Abbey and the adjoining royal palace is taken from that published in Hall's *Antiquities of the Exchequer*, p. 31. I am indebted to my friend Mr. Hubert Hall and to his publisher, Mr. Elliott Stock, for permission to reproduce this.

“FILIA MAGISTRI.”

UN ABREGÉ DES SENTENCES DE PIERRE LOMBARD

NOTES SUR UN MANUSCRIT LATIN CONSERVÉ À LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE JOHN RYLANDS À MANCHESTER,

PAR RAYMOND M. MARTIN, O.P.,

PROFESSEUR AU COLLÈGE THÉOLOGIQUE DES DOMINICAINS,
LOUVAIN.

LORS de la vente des livres de George Dunn, de Woolley Hall près Maidenhead, en février 1913, la bibliothèque John Rylands acquit deux volumes de manuscrits latins composés d'un choix d'œuvres dûes à différents auteurs. La date à laquelle ces pages furent écrites n'est pas postérieure au XIII^e siècle. Conformément à une note que l'on trouve au bas du premier folio et fréquemment au cours du volume, elles virent le jour dans un monastère : *liber sancte marie de camberone*, que l'on croit être l'abbaye cistercienne de Cambron, fondée en 1148, du vivant de S. Bernard, et située S-O d'Enghien, dans l'ancien comté de Hainaut, diocèse de Cambrai.¹

Je dois à l'aimable obligeance de M. H. Guppy, bibliothécaire, d'avoir pu prendre connaissance de ces manuscrits, qui depuis de longues années avaient été enfermés dans le secret d'une bibliothèque privée.

Dans le premier de ces volumes, dont aucun n'est paginé, commence au folio 74^r une Somme de Sentences, par ces mots : *Quoniam velut quatuor paradisi flumina . . .* Elle occupe la plus grande place dans cette collection et en constitue le principal élément.

C'est cet ouvrage qui fait l'objet de cette note. Il mérite l'atten-

¹ V. LEOP. JANAUSCHEK, *Origines Cistercienses*, in 4^o, t. I, p. 113. Vindobonae, 1877.

tion de tous ceux qu'intéresse l'histoire de la théologie médiévale. J'ai tâché d'examiner brièvement 1° la diffusion de cette œuvre ; 2° d'en indiquer le contenu, les caractères qui la distinguent et la place qu'elle occupe parmi d'autres travaux du même genre ; 3° d'en rechercher l'auteur et la date de composition.

1. DIFFUSION DE CETTE ŒUVRE.

Le manuscrit que possède maintenant la bibliothèque John Rylands n'est pas la seule copie de cette œuvre, qui soit parvenue jusqu'à nous. Il en existe d'autres. Déjà en 1885, le P. Denifle, O.P., qui attribuait cette Somme de Sentences au dominicain Hugues de S. Cher, professeur à l'Université de Paris depuis 1230, en avait signalé sept manuscrits, dont deux sont conservés en Allemagne, trois en France, un en Autriche, et un en Belgique.¹ Récemment, j'en ai trouvé deux autres en Angleterre : Cambridge, Trinity College, cod. B. 14, 6 ;² Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canoniciana, cod. 208³; tous deux datent du XV^e siècle.

Tous ces manuscrits présentent plus d'une divergence. Les uns sont absolument sans titre ; d'autres sont intitulés : *Liber sententiarum abbreviatus*, *Sententie abbreviate*, etc. Quelques uns, en témoignage, sans doute, des liens étroits qui rattachent cette œuvre à Pierre Lombard, portent la gracieuse étiquette : *Filia Magistri*.

Le MS. conservé à la Bibliothèque John Rylands n'a pas de titre. Il constitue un des plus beaux spécimen de l'écriture au XIII^e siècle. Il est écrit de la même main, du commencement jusqu'au bout, en lettres gothiques noires ; les petites lettres *a e n*, etc., mesurent 3 millim. ; les lettres à hastes en mesurent 4 $\frac{1}{2}$. Les lignes sont distancées

¹ Cfr. H. DENIFLE, O.P., *Archiv für Litteratur und Kirchengeschichte*, t. I, p. 589 (Berlin, 1885) : Hugo (a S. Caro) kürzte ebenfalls die Sentenzen . . . (note 4) : Hss sind Codd. lat. mon. 21048 und 5307 ; Paris, 3423 und 16412 ; Laon, n. 321 ; Brügge, 82 (ceci est une faute d'impression, il s'agit du n. 80) ; Lambach, n. CXXXVII.

² Cfr. Dr. M. R. JAMES, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. A descriptive Catalogue*. Cambridge, 1900. T. I, p. 409.

³ Le Dr. M. A. G. LITTLE l'avait déjà signalé dans son ouvrage : *Initia operum latinorum quae saeculis XIII.-XIV. attribuuntur . . .* 1 vol. in 8°, p. 211. Manchester, 1904.

de 5 millim. ; et le texte du folio occupe un espace de 10 centim. sur 6.

Ce qui est plus important à noter, c'est que ces divers MSS. n'ont pas tous la même ampleur. D'aucuns n'ont pas la préface, ni la division des matières qui se lisent en d'autres exemplaires, et commencent directement par le premier Livre : *Veteris ac nove legis continentiam considerantibus nobis innotuit.* . . .

Quant au texte même de ces Sentences, il est moins étendu dans une copie que dans l'autre ; il fut des copistes qui se sont plus soit à l'abréger, soit à le développer.

Le texte du MS. de la bibliothèque John Rylands n'est pas des plus sommaires.

J'ajoute que d'après d'anciens catalogues, la "Filia Magistri" était représentée cinq fois à l'abbaye S. Augustin, à Cantorbéry. Le catalogue du prieuré S. Martin à Douvres en signale trois autres exemplaires, sous ces titres : *Tractatus super librum sententiarum*, *Glosa super sentencias*, *Liber sentenciarum* (ce dernier sans prologue).¹

Ces détails non seulement nous renseignent sur le fait de la diffusion de cette œuvre, mais ils nous montrent également sous quelles différentes formes elle s'est répandue dans les Ecoles. Encore au XV^e siècle, on trouvait utile d'en augmenter le nombre d'exemplaires.

2. ANALYSE ET CARACTÈRES

Déjà, il a été dit, que l'ouvrage qui nous occupe est une Somme de Sentences. J'ajouterai qu'il traite principalement des matières théologiques.

A part la préface, il est divisé en quatre Livres, dans lesquels il est successivement question de Dieu et de la T. S. Trinité, de la Creation, de la Rédemption et des Sacrements. Il n'y a ni épilogue, ni table de matières.

Chaque livre se compose de deux éléments : texte et notes.

A parcourir attentivement le texte, l'on voit tout de suite qu'il ne

¹ V. Dr. M. R. JAMES, *The ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover.* 1 vol. in 8^o, p. 443, n. 77 ; p. 493, n. 436 ; p. 441, n. 51. Cambridge, 1903.

s'agit pas d'une composition originale, mais d'un résumé du Livre des Sentences de Pierre Lombard.

Les notes constituent un élément parfaitement distinct du texte. Dans le présent MS. elles sont écrites en petits caractères et placées de telle sorte qu'il n'y a pas moyen de les confondre avec le texte : ce qui n'est pas le cas dans tous les MSS. Les notes ne sont pas suivies, et un petit nombre de folios ne comportent pas de notes. Elles sont en outre, d'une étendue et d'un caractère différents. Les unes très brèves, expliquent un terme, approuvent ou désapprouvent, en deux mots parfois, une opinion, et sont interlinéaires. Les autres sont plus longues ; elles empiètent sur l'espace destiné d'abord à recevoir le texte — qui, par suite, se retrécit — et s'alignent d'une façon très régulière le long du passage qu'elles sont appelées à compléter. Ce sont généralement des exposés d'opinions nouvelles, parfois des notes explicatives.

C'est ce deuxième élément : les notes, qui donne à cet abrégé des Sentences sa physionomie propre, et lui assure une place à part parmi les travaux du même genre.

Il existe, en effet, divers groupes d'abréviés des Sentences de Pierre Lombard. En voici un essai de classification :—

1. La plupart sont en prose, quelques uns en vers.¹
2. Il y en a qui abrègent d'une manière suivie tout le texte du Lombard ; j'y reviendrai.
3. D'autres ne présentent qu'un choix des questions les plus intéressantes.²

¹ Au sujet de ces abréviés en vers, dont quelques uns avaient pour but d'aider la mémoire, cfr. J. DE GHELLINCK, S.I., *Mediaeval Theology in Verse*, dans *The Irish Theological Quarterly*, 1914, p. 336. Outre les MSS. dont il y est fait mention, je signalerai encore trois autres : St. John's College, Cambridge, cod. F. 18, fo 101-121 ; cod. 6628 de la bibl. Harley au British Museum, fo 188-205. Au début et à la fin, cet ouvrage est attribué à S. Bonaventure. La question d'authenticité est discutée par les Editeurs du Docteur Séraphique : S. Bonaventuri opera omnia . . . vol. I, *praef. gener.* p. xv. Quaracchi, 1882. Item, cod. Harley 6628, fo 206v-208 : *Versus super 4 Libros sententiarum singulas distinctiones per singulas dictiones patefacientes*. Un fragment de cette dernière œuvre se retrouve aussi, toutefois avec des variantes, à Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, n. 524, fo 91b-93a.

² Cfr. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, n. 518 (Elbing MSS., N. 20), fo 1-43a : *Questiones sententiarum* ; Pembroke College, cod. 101, fo 41-46 : *Excepciones libri sententiarum*.

4. D'autres encore fournissent une simple explication des termes.¹
5. Parfois même le Livre des Sentences est condensé dans des tableaux synoptiques² ou réduit à une table des matières analytique,³ voire même alphabétique.⁴
6. Il y a des résumés d'abrégés antérieurs.⁵
7. Chose assez étrange, certains abréviateurs ont omis tout le premier livre ; ils n'ont abrégé que les trois derniers⁶ ou seulement le deuxième.⁷
8. Parmi ceux qui abrègent d'une manière suivie tout le texte du Lombard, nous en trouvons qui ne sont rien de plus que de simples abrégés. L'abréviateur n'a rien ajouté du sien, ni notes explicatives, ni textes d'autres auteurs. Par contre, il y a certains exemplaires où l'abréviateur s'est départi du texte des Sentences, soit en insérant certaines opinions dont P. Lombard n'a pas fait mention, soit en faisant une légère critique du texte, soit en expliquant le sens et la portée de certains passages. On peut les appeler des abrégés mixtes. Il arrive que le lecteur n'est pas averti de ce surplus de matières ; la

¹ Dublin, Trinity College, cod. 275, fo 119-129. Oxford, Balliol College, n. 230. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, cod. 459, fo 114-124. Dans la première de ces copies, ce lexique est attribué à Roger de Salesbury : *Expliciunt verborum significaciones super librum sententiarum secundum magistrum Rogerum de Salesbures*.

² Cfr. British Museum, bibl. reg. cod. 9 B. VI, fo 2r-3v ; 19r-24.

³ *Ibid.* fol. 4r-16v. Cette table constitue un ensemble de 1870 articles. A comparer, Balliol College, Oxford, cod. 3.

⁴ British Museum, bibl. reg. cod. 9, B. VI, fo 17rb-19ra ; *ibid.* cod. 9 B. VIII, fo 337va (fragment, qui s'arrête au mot *Baptismus* . . .) ; autre fragment Brit. Museum, cod. 18899, fo 2r-3b. Quelques unes de ces tables ont été attribuées à Robert de Kylwardby, O.Pr. Je ne sais de quel droit.

⁵ Oxford, New College, cod. E. CXLV, fo 13-50, est un résumé de l'abrége des Sentences à la Bodleian, Laud. misc. 397. Les *Flores sententiarum magistri Gandulphi*, Bamberg, Kgl. Bibliothek, cod. B. IV, 29, fo 126v-142r, sont des extraits de l'abrége de Pierre Lombard par Gandulphe de Bologne. Certains exemplaires de la *Filia Magistri*.

⁶ Le Dr. M. GRABMANN, *Geschichte der Scholast. Methode*, t. II (1911), p. 389, a le premier, attiré l'attention sur cette particularité. Il cite comme exemple, Paris, bibl. nationale, cod. lat. 15747.

⁷ Cfr. Dr. GRABMANN, loc. cit., où sont mentionnés, Paris, bibl. nationale, cod. lat. 627 et München, Kgl. Hof u. Staatsbibl. cod. lat. 2596.

plupart du temps cependant l'abréviateur a eu soin de signaler ce qui constitue son œuvre personnelle.¹

La "Filia Magistri" rentre dans cette dernière catégorie d'abrégés. C'est un abrégré mixte. L'auteur a eu en vue deux choses : fournir un texte succinct de l'œuvre de Pierre Lombard, et indiquer la marche des idées théologiques depuis la publication des *Sentences* jusqu'à l'époque où il écrit lui-même. Il a voulu rajeunir une œuvre déjà ancienne, tout en lui conservant les traits essentiels d'origine. C'est un résumé des *Sentences up to date*, mais les éléments nouveaux n'ont pas étouffé le texte ancien ; ils l'ont mis davantage en relief.

¹ A ces deux groupes, il faut ramener les divers abrégés qui suivent :

1. Les *Sententie* de Gandulphe de Bologne. H. DENIFLE, O.P., et le Dr. GRABMANN en ont retrouvé plusieurs copies. Cfr. Grabmann, loc. cit. p. 389. Le mérite d'avoir prouvé que cette œuvre n'est qu'un résumé de Pierre Lombard revient à J. DE GHELLINCK, S.I., *Le Mouvement théologique au XII siècle*, pp. 191-223. Paris, 1914.

2. *Abbreviatio magistri Bandini* . . . München, cod. lat. 9652 ; Paris, Mazarine, n. 694 (917) ; Bruxelles, bibl. royale, n. 1485-1501, fo 168. (La notice consacrée à cette Somme de *Sentences* par J. VAN DEN GHEYN, S.I., *Catalogue des Manuscrits*, etc., T. I, p. 96, n. 214, a besoin de corrections.)—Cf. MIGNE, *Patrologie latine*, t. CXCII, 965-1112.

3. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. misc. 397. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, cod. 477.

4. Cambridge, St. John's College, cod. E. 17, fo 3-70r.

5. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, cod. 461. British Museum, bibl. reg. 9 A. XI, sous le titre : *Questiones super libros sententiarum*. Cet abrégré est postérieur à 1248. S. Bonaventure est cité dans 9 A. XI, au fo 77.

6. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, cod. 273.

7. *Breviarium sententiarum* : British Museum, bibl. reg. 7, F. XIII, fo 129. Paris, Mazarine, n. 984 (1049) fo 1-132. Oxford, Magdalen College, n. 40 ; Bodleian Library, Laud. misc. n. 513. Dublin, Trinity College, n. 275, fo 1-118. Dans cette dernière copie, l'abrégré est attribué à Simon de Tournai.

8. Troyes, bibl. de la ville, cod. 1371, fo 88-111^v également attribué à Simon de Tournai.

Il m'a été impossible d'examiner le MS. 560 de la bibliothèque de l'université de Gand, signalé par J. de Ghellinck, *op. cit.* p. 165, n. 2. Je ne saurais dire s'il constitue un abrégré distinct de ceux énumérés ci-dessus. Je dois dire la même chose au sujet du cod. Paris, bibliothèque nationale, MS. lat. 14534. D'après N. Valois, *Guillaume d'Auvergne*, p. 187, Paris, 1880, il renferme un résumé très libre du texte des *Sentences*. Ce résumé est attribué à Guillaume de Paris (†1249) ; on ignore avec quel fondement.

Pierre Lombard survit tout entier et avec un éclat nouveau dans la "Filia" qui porte son nom.

Le texte de la Préface et de la division des Matières pouvant avantageusement compléter ces considérations, je le publie ci-après :—

Quosiam velut quatuor paradisi flumina libri sententiarum hortum¹ irrigant ecclesie copiose, nimis propter eos qui brevitate gaudent expedit, ut illorum diffusio compendio temperetur—per quod evitetur mater fastidii, prolixitas—dictorum tamen ordo, librorum et continentia nescientibus aliqualiter innotescat. Igitur, opus subsequens aggrediens in nomine ihesu christi, notulas magistrales apponam alias ut excepta clarius eluescant.

Divisio librorum (car. roug.).

Scriptura sacra de duobus agit, de creatore scilicet et opere creatoris. Opus autem creatoris dividitur in opus creationis et recreationis et opus ultime retributionis. Item, opus recreationis subdividitur in opus quod gessit in propria persona, ut est incarnationis, passio et similia, et in opus ecclesie recreantis per sacramenta. Eleganter ergo distinxit magister opus suum in quatuor volumina, ut in primo ageret de creatore, in secundo de opere creationis, in tertio de opere recreationis quod gessit in propria persona, in quarto de opere recreationis quod gerit ecclesia mediante, scilicet de sacramentis; tandem terminat opus suum in opere ultime retributionis.

3. AUTEUR ET DATE DE COMPOSITION.

La question touchant l'auteur de cet abrégé n'a pas encore été débattue et constitue un problème. Il est plus facile d'assigner—au moins approximativement—la date de composition de cet ouvrage.

A consulter les MSS. eux-mêmes, on constate que la plupart sont absolument vierges de toute information au sujet de l'auteur. Tels les MSS. de Bruges (XIII siècle), Manchester (XIII s.), Cambridge (XV s.). Le MS. de la Bodléenne, Canon. Patr. Lat. 208 porte cette inscription : *Incipit prologus fratris hugonis in 4 libris sententiarum.* Mais il faut se rappeler que cette copie ne date que du XV^e siècle ; le témoignage qu'elle rend en la matière n'est donc pas précisément *di primo cartello*.

Je n'ai pas eu la chance de trouver un renseignement venant du

¹ Dans les MSS. on trouve généralement *ortum*.

XIII^e siècle. Les nombreux ouvrages théologiques de cette époque, qui me sont tombés sous la main, demeurent silencieux au sujet de l'auteur de cet abrégé des *Sentences*.

J'ai déjà dit que le P. Denifle, O.P. avait cru trouver dans ce résumé, l'œuvre de Hugues de S. Cher. Le distingué critique n'a toutefois pas indiqué les sources qui lui avaient permis d'attribuer à ce Docteur de Paris la paternité de la "Filia Magistri".

Néanmoins l'opinion d'un maître tel que le P. Denifle, mérite d'être prise en considération. Lud. a Vallioleti († 1436) rapporte que Hugues de S. Cher a fait un *certain* abrégé des *Sentences*; ¹ il est certain aussi que le "frater Hugo" dont parle le MS. Bodl. 208 ne peut être que le frère-prêcheur de ce nom. Examinons donc, si—à défaut de témoignages externes suffisamment précis et certains —la critique interne permet de maintenir cette affirmation.

Nous savons par ailleurs que Hugues de S. Cher a composé un *Commentaire des Sentences*.² Y a-t-il dans cet abrégé des éléments de doctrine qui peuvent nous amener à y découvrir des liens de dépendance ou de parenté avec l'œuvre plus importante de Hugues, sa *Glose des Sentences*?

Inutile, dans cet examen, de nous en rapporter au texte de l'abrégé. Il est comme nous avons dit, un pur résumé des *Sentences*, sans alliage. Nous devons examiner les notes qui encadrent le texte. Or, à comparer ces notes avec le *Commentaire des Sentences* par Hugues de S. Cher, il est absolument évident qu'elles ont été tirées de ce commentaire. Elles en reproduisent exactement les passages correspondants. Comme exemples frappants de ce fait nous pouvons citer les endroits suivants :—

Livre I, chap. sur les Notions dans la Trinité : *De notionibus multe sunt opiniones. . . .* Ces opinions, quant à leur énoncé et l'ordre dans lequel elles se suivent, sont pris du commentaire de H. de S. Ch. in 1 Libr. dist. XXVI.

Liv. II, dans la question du péché originel, la "tercia opinio" sur la notion de ce péché (c. a. d. l'opinion soutenue par Etienne Langton)

¹ Ap. QUÉTIF et ECHARD, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, t. I, p. 202.

² Une très bonne copie de ce commentaire est conservé à Canterbury, Chapter Library, cod. A, 12. Je m'en suis servi en l'occurrence.

a littéralement le même exposé dans le *Commentaire*, l. II, dist. XXX. La critique des diverses opinions est aussi identique dans les deux endroits.

L. IV. qu. I, la différence entre le baptême du Précursor et le baptême du Christ est signalée dans les mêmes termes et les mêmes détails que dans la *Glose* l. IV, dist. I.

Ce ne sont là que quelques exemples. A continuer la comparaison, on finit par constater que le fait est général ; et la conclusion s'impose, qu'il y a entre la " *Filia Magistri* " et la *Glose* des *Sentences* composée par Hugues de S. Cher, une dépendance très étroite, des liens d'une parenté irrécusable.

Ces faits nous autorisent-ils à affirmer que Hugues de S. Cher est l'auteur de la " *Filia Magistri* " ?

Je ne le pense pas. Et voici la difficulté qui s'oppose à cette solution. Il est dit dans la préface, que l'auteur se dispose à ajouter au résumé des *Sentences* certaines notes magistrales—*notas magistrales apponam*. Hugues de S. Cher, aurait-il été, en reproduisant ses propres *Commentaires*, assez pédant pour les qualifier de magistrales ? Il serait absurde même de le supposer. Et cette considération me semble amplement suffire pour refuser à Hugues de S. Cher la paternité de cet abrégé. D'autre part, ces faits m'amènent à conclure que cet abrégé est certainement dû à un des disciples de Hugues de S. Cher. Ce disciple, en puisant dans l'œuvre du fameux maître dominicain, avait raison de dire : *notas magistrales apponam*.

Quel fut ce disciple ? Je l'ignore.

Cela dit, nous pouvons déterminer sans peine la date approximative de la composition de cet abrégé.

Nous savons que Hugues de S. Cher écrivait sa *Glose* des *Sentences* pendant les années 1230-1232. La *Filia Magistri* n'a donc pas vu le jour avant 1232. D'autre part, il est peu raisonnable d'admettre que l'abréviateur se soit mis à l'œuvre immédiatement après la publication du *Commentaire*. Un court espace de temps au moins était nécessaire pour faire apprécier la *Glose* de Hugues de S. Cher et pour permettre de lui donner la préférence sur beaucoup d'autres. Jusqu'où étendre cet intervalle ? Albert le Grand vint à Paris en 1245, et la renommée de son enseignement dut nécessairement éclipser la gloire de Hugues de S. Cher. Je puis difficilement admettre qu'après l'arrivée d'Albert le Grand à Paris, l'on ait

encore songé à annoter un abrégé du Livre des Sentences par des extraits de Hugues de S. Cher. Avec Albert le Grand s'ouvrirait à Paris une nouvelle période pour le développement des idées théologiques. La composition de l'abrégué des Sentences en question tombe donc vraisemblablement entre les années 1232 et 1245.

Je note en terminant que la "Filia Magistri" fut, dans son genre, un des derniers abrégés de Pierre Lombard. Après 1250, au lieu de résumer le texte des Sentences, on se plut davantage à abréger les Commentaires de cette œuvre ou à résumer la doctrine théologique alors professée dans les Ecoles, dans des *Compendiums* et des *Breviloquia* qui se rattachent cependant toujours intimement au Livre des Sentences.¹

¹ Tels, Hugues Ripelin de Strasbourg, O.P. († 1268), *Compendium veritatis theologicæ*, et le franciscain Gérard de Prato, *Compendium seu breviloquium fr. Gerardii de Prato super libros Sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi*. Cfr. Grabmann, op. cit. p. 370. Gérard de Prato, près Florence, vivait vers 1278. Un des MSS. de son œuvre, non signalé par Grabmann, se retrouve dans le cod. 862 (915) de la bibliothèque Mazarine à Paris, fo 1-83. Les deux ouvrages ont reçu les honneurs de l'impression.

STEPS TOWARDS THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

This third list of contributions to the new Library for the University of Louvain, furnishes fresh and unmistakable evidence of the generous and widespread sympathy which our appeal on behalf of the crippled University has called forth.

Already upwards of five thousand volumes have been either received or definitely promised, and there are other equally generous promises of help which have yet to materialize.

These gifts form an excellent beginning of the new Library, yet, as we pointed out in our last issue, when it is realized that the collection of books so ruthlessly destroyed at Louvain numbered nearly a quarter of a million of volumes, it will be evident that if the work of replacement, which we have inaugurated, is to be accomplished, very much more remains to be done.

It is with the utmost confidence, therefore, that we renew and emphasize our appeal for help.

We take this opportunity for renewing the expressions of thanks, already forwarded in another form, to the donors whose names are here recorded, for their prompt and generous response to our appeal.

THE REV. DENDY AGATE, of Altrincham.

CLINTON (Henry Fynes) *Fasti Hellenici. The civil and literary chronology of Greece, from the LVth to the CXXIVth Olympiad.* Second edition, with additions. *Oxford, 1827.* 4to.

COLANI (Timothée) *Jésus-Christ et les croyances messianiques de son temps.* Deuxième édition revue et augmentée. *Strasbourg, 1864.* 8vo.

LOWTH (Robert) *Lectures on the sacred poetry of the Hebrews.* Translated from the Latin by G. Gregory. *London, 1787.* 2 vols. 8vo.

NICOLAS (Michel) *Des doctrines religieuses des Juifs pendant les deux siècles antérieurs à l'ère chrétienne.* Deuxième édition revue et augmentée. *Paris, 1867.* 8vo.

SMITH (Adam) *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations.* With a life of the author, and a view of the doctrine of Smith. *Edinburgh, 1835.* 8vo.

RECONSTRUCTION OF LOUVAIN LIBRARY 381

F. HARRINGTON ARDLEY, Esq., of Upper Tooting, London.

BIBLE.—GREEK. *Novum Testamentum. Post priores S. Curcellaei, tum et DD. Oxoniensium labores . . . Accedit Locor. Parall. numerus . . . ac tandem Crisis Perpetua . . . ad XLIII Canones examinat G. D. T. M. D. [i.e. Gerardus de Trajecto Mosae Doctor.] Amstelaedami, 1735. 8vo.*

CICERO (Marcus Tullius) *Les Offices traduits en François . . . avec des notes . . . par M. Du Bois. Nouvelle édition, avec le Latin à costé. Paris, 1704. 8vo.*

COCCIEUS (Joannes) *Lexicon et commentarius sermonis Hebraici et Chaldaici Veteris Testamenti. Accedunt interpretatio vocum Germanica, Belgica ac Graeca ex LXX. interpretibus. Amstelodami, 1669. Fol.*

R. BARON, Esq., of Blackburn.

MACCARTHY (Justin) *A history of the four Georges and of William IV. [Vol. 2, by J. and J. Huntly McCarthy.] London, 1905. 2 vols. 8vo.*

— The reign of Queen Anne. *London, 1905. 8vo.*

MACCHIAVELLI (Niccolò) *Works. Written originally in Italian, and from thence newly and faithfully translated into English. London, 1680. Fol.*

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